THE

WORKS

OF

M. DE VOLTAIRE.

TRANSLATED FROM THE FRENCH.

WITH

NOTES, HISTORICAL AND CRITICAL.

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THE CONTENTS OF THE THIRTEENTH VOLUME.

OF *the Germans*, Page 1
Of the changes in the Globe, 2
Of China, 3
Of the Indies, 8
Of the BRAMINS *and of the* VEDAM *and* EZOUR-VEDAM, 12
Of Mahomet, 21
Of the Alcoran and the Muſſulman Law, 28
Of Chriſtianity, 35
Of the Popes, 36
Of the anointing of king Pepin, *ibid.*
Of the Papal Power, 39
Of Charlemagne, 40
Of Manners and Cuſtoms in the Time of Charlemagne, 42
Of Religion in the Time of Charlemagne, 45
Of Purgations or Trials, 48
State of Europe, after the death of Lewis the Debonnaire, *ibid.*
Of the Normans, 49
Of SPAIN *and the* MOORS, *ibid.*
Of the Greek empire, 52
Of Photius, *ibid.*
A monk ſcourged for the Saving Grace, *ibid.*
Of the Emperor Otho, 53
Of Otho II. *and* III. *and of Rome*, 54

Henry I. *of France marries a Ruſſian princeſs*, Page 55
State of France in the tenth and eleventh Centuries, *ibid.*
Conqueſt of England by William Duke of Normandy, 56
State of Europe in the tenth and eleventh Centuries, 58
Of Spain and the Moors, *ibid.*
Of religion and ſuperſtition in the tenth and eleventh Centuries, 59
Reflections on the Emperor Henry IV. 63
Of Frederic Barbaroſſa, 64
Of the Feudal Law, which obliged the liege man to ſerve his lord againſt the king, 65
Divorce of Lewis the Young, and his queen Eleanor, 66
Of Henry II. *of England*, 67
Of John Lackland, *ibid.*
Of Lewis VIII. *king of England*, 68
Of Frederick II. 69
Of Paleſtine, 70
Of the firſt Cruſade, *ibid.*
The taking of Jeruſalem, 71
Cruſades after the taking of Jeruſalem, *ibid.*
Of Saladin, 72
The taking of Conſtantinople, 73
Of St. Francis d' Aſſiſe, 75
Of St. Lewis, 76
Of Gengis Can, *ibid.*
Of Mainfroy or Manfreddo, 79
Of the cruſade againſt the Albigenſes, in 1209, 84
Of the cruſade againſt Languedoc, in 1228, 85
Of the Pontificate, in the thirteenth Century, 88
Of the Sciences in Europe in the thirteenth Century, 89
Of Spain, 90
Of Philip the Fair, and Pope Boniface VIII. 91
Of the Knights Templars, 95
Of Switzerland, 96
Of the Golden Bull, *ibid.*
Of John Hus, &c. 98
State of Europe, *ibid.*
Of France and England in 1326, *ibid.*
Of the Salique Law, 99
Of Edward III. *in* 1338, 100

Of

Of the taking of Calais, Page 101
Death of Edward III. *in* 1377, 102
Of Richard II. *of England in* 1399, 103
The Salique Law abolished, *ibid.*
Of Charles VII. *king of France,* 104
Manners and customs in the thirteenth and fourteenth Centuries 105
Of the arts and sciences, in the thirteenth and fourteenth Centuries, 106
Of Infranchisements, Privileges, &c. 109
Of the parliament of Paris in the reign of Charles VII. *ibid.*
Apparent union of the Greek and Latin churches, 112
Of the council of Basil, 113
Of the fall of the Greek Empire, 114
Taking of Constantinople, *ibid.*
Some Particulars relating to Constantinople, 115
Of Mahomet II. *ibid.*
State of Greece under the Ottoman Empire, 117
Of the Turkish government, *ibid.*
Of the death of Lewis XI. *in* 1483, 118
Of Chivalry, *ibid.*
Of Nobility, *ibid.*
Of Tournaments, 128
Of Duels, 134
Of Europe in the fifteenth Century. Spain, 141
Of the state of the Jews in Europe, 142
Of the people called Bohemians or Gypsies, 145
Of Italy in the fifteenth Century, 147
Savonarola, 150
Pico de la Mirandola, *ibid.*
Of Alexander VI. *&c.* *ibid.*
League of Cambray in 1508, *ibid.*
Julius II. *against Lewis* XIV. *in* 1510. 151
Customs in the sixteenth Century, 152
Polite Arts in the sixteenth Century. Invention of Printing, 153
Francis I *set at liberty in* 1526, 154
Pope Clement VII. *prisoner in* 1527, 155
Conduct of Francis I. *ibid.*
Of the Genevans, 156

Interview between Charles V. *and Francis* I. Page 156
Of Barbaroſſa in 1543, 157
Death of Francis I. *ibid.*
Abdication of Charles V. *in* 1558, 159
Of Leo X. *ibid.*
Of Luther, 160
Of Zuinglius, 162
Progreſs of Lutheraniſm, 166
Of the Anabaptiſts, 167
Of Anabaptiſm, 168
Of Religion in France during the Reign of Francis I. *ibid.*
Of religious Orders, 170
Of the Jeſuits, 171
Of the Nuns, 172
Of the Inquiſition, 173
Of the Diſcoveries of the Portugueſe, 174
Of Japan, 176
Of India, 177
Of Ethiopia or Abyſſinia, 178
Idle Diſputes, 179
Of Fernando Cortez, 186
Of the conqueſt of Peru, *ibid.*
Of the firſt Voyage round the World, 188
Of Braſil, 189
Of the French poſſeſſions in America, 191
Of the French Iſlands, and of the Buccaneers, 198
Of the poſſeſſions of the Engliſh and Dutch in America, 205
Of Paraguay. Of the power of the Jeſuits in that part of the world, and of their diſputes with the Spaniards and Portugueſe, 211
Of the Mogul, 219
Of Perſia, 220
Of the Ottoman empire in the ſixteenth century, 221
Of the coaſt of Barbary, *ibid.*
Of the kingdom of Fez and Morocco, 222
A brief account of ſome of the principal tranſactions of the council of Trent, 225
Death of Henry III. 243
Of Henry IV. 244
On the cardinal de Richelieu's obtaining a diſpenſation from the pope, to paſs ſentence of death upon Marillac, 252

Adminiſtration

Adminiſtration of cardinal de Richelieu. On the marriage of Gaſton, brother of Lewis XIII. *with Margaret of Lorraine,* Page 252
On the creation of twenty four new counſellors of parliament, *ibid.*
On the Jeſuit Cauſſin, the king's confeſſor, 253
At the end of the chapter of the adminiſtration of cardinal Richelieu, 254
Of Spain, under Philip IV. *ibid.*
At the end of the chapter relating to Philip IV. 255
Of the misfortunes of Charles I. *and of the Iriſh maſſacre,* 257
Reflections on the declaration of Charles I. *concerning religion,* *ibid.*
Of Oliver Cromwel, 258
Of England, under Charles II. 259
Of Italy in the ſixteenth century, 265
Of Sweden and Poland, 266
Of Sabatei Sevi, the falſe Meſſiah, *ibid.*
Siege of Vienna by the Turks, 268
Of China, *ibid.*
Recapitulation of the foregoing hiſtory, 269
Introduction to the age of Lewis XIV. *In ſpeaking of the four ages or centuries, of which the laſt is that of Lewis* XIV. 277
Rome. On the biſhops ſtiling themſelves ſuch by the divine permiſſion, and that of the holy ſee, 278
Civil wars. The end of the ſecond, *ibid.*
Third civil war, *ibid.*
Of the duke of Beaufort, 280
Condition of France, under the adminiſtration of cardinal Mazarine. On the death of Cromwel, *ibid.*
Magnificence of Lewis XIV. *On the bull of divorce granted by the pope to the queen of Portugal, on the ſuppoſed impotence of her huſband,* 281
End of the chapter, which concludes with the death of Conde, *ibid.*
Of Colbert and Foquet, 282
On St. Evremont, *ibid.*
Lewis XIV. *Government,* 283

Lewis

Lewis XIV. *Finances*, Page 283
Of Calviniſm, 284
Of Janſeniſm, at the end of the chapter, 286
Of quietiſm, *ibid.*
On the canonization of Mary D'Agreda, 287
On the charge of hereſy againſt Fenelon, *ibid.*
End of the chapter of quietiſm, *ibid.*
End of the chapter relating to the Chineſe ceremonies, 288

ADDITIONS

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TO THE

ESSAY ON GENERAL HISTORY,

AND

The Manners and Spirit of Nations, from CHARLEMAGNE to the preſent Time.

Of the GERMANS.

CÆSAR tells us, in his Commentaries, that the days of battle were always appointed by their magicians or ſoothſayers; and that when Arioviſtus, one of their kings, led an army of an hundred thouſand wandering Germans, to pillage the country of the Gauls, that he (Cæſar) being deſirous to ſubdue theſe people, rather than plunder them, ſent two Roman officers to Arioviſtus, to confer with him on the occaſion; when the barbarian ordered them to be loaded with chains, and to be kept as victims to be offered to the gods of his country; which inhuman ſentence was going to be put in execution, when Cæſar delivered them by beating the German army. The families of theſe

See Introduction to Gen. Hiſt. vol. I. p. 1.

barbarians lived in wretched cottages, at one end of which the father, mother, ſiſters, brothers, and children, lay all huddled together naked upon ſtraw, while the other end was reſerved for their cattle. Theſe, however, were the ſame people who became maſters of Rome. Therefore Tacitus, in extolling the manners of the ancient Germans, is like Horace when he ſings the praiſes of the barbarians Getæ; both writers ſhew themſelves equally ignorant of their ſubject, and in fact only make the ſatire of Rome. Nay, Tacitus, in the midſt of his panegyric, acknowledges what every one knew, that the Germans choſe rather to live by rapine, than to be at the pains to cultivate their lands; and that after having plundered their neighbours, they were wont to return home to make merry with their booty. However, they could not always ſubſiſt by plunder, for the Roman emperors having at length checked their incurſions, and ſubjected a great part of them, they were conſtrained to ſeek a livelihood by labour, which they conſidered as the greateſt hardſhip.

CHANGES in the GLOBE.

Idem, page 2.] THOSE pleaſant and fruitful tracts of land in the weſtern part of Europe, that ſweet country watered by the Rhine, the Maeſe, the Seine, and the Loire, were all covered by the waters of the ocean for a prodigious number of ages. This truth is phyſically demonſtrated by thoſe deep and horizontal beds of ſea-ſhells, which are found far in-land, and which were depoſited there by little and little, as the ocean left it.

It is not ſo certain that thoſe chains of mountains, which run acroſs the old and new world, were formerly covered by the ſea.

1. Becauſe theſe mountains are many of them 10,000 feet and more higher than the ſurface of the ſea.

2. Becauſe, if there was a time when theſe mountains did not exiſt, whence did thoſe ſprings and rivers of freſh

freſh water ariſe, which are ſo neceſſary to the lives of all animals?

3. In ſuppoſing theſe mountains to have been covered with waters, we muſt contradict the order of nature, and the known laws of gravity and the hydroſtatics.

4. The bed of the ocean is hollow, and in this cavity we find no chain of mountains ſtretching from one pole to the other, or from eaſt to weſt, as on the earth; we cannot therefore, with any degree of truth, conclude that all our globe was for a long time covered with ſea, becauſe ſeveral parts of it have been formerly overflowed. We muſt not aſſert, that the ſea once divided the Alps and the Cordilleras, becauſe it has covered the lower parts of Gaul, Greece, Germany, Africa and India: neither ſhould we infer that mount Taurus was once a navigable flood, becauſe the Philippine and Molucca iſlands were once part of the continent. And altho' it is probable that the mountainous parts of the earth may have undergone many phyſical and moral changes, as well as the more level parts, yet we do not know what theſe have been: human nature is entirely new to us.

Of CHINA.

IT is ſaid in the Book of the Five Kings (by far the moſt ancient and authentic of the Chineſe) that in the reign of the emperor Yo, the fourth in ſucceſſion to Fo-hi, there was obſerved a conjunction of Saturn, Jupiter, Mars, Mercury, and Venus. Now, our aſtronomers pretend to diſpute among themſelves concerning the time of this conjunction, which certainly they ought not to do; for even ſuppoſing the Chineſe to have been miſtaken in this celeſtial obſervation, the very miſtake was glorious. We learn from books, that from time immemorial the Chineſe knew that the planets Venus and Mercury revolved round the ſun; it would therefore be rejecting the common lights of reaſon not to perceive, that ſuch a knowlege ſuppoſes a vaſt number

Vol. I. chap. I. page 9.

of preceeding ages; and what renders thoſe firſt writings ſo peculiarly venerable, and gives them ſuch an acknowledged ſuperiority over all thoſe that relate the origin of other nations is, that we do not meet with any prodigies in them, any predictions, or any of thoſe political impoſtures, with which the founders of all other ſtates ſtand charged, unleſs we will except that of Fo-hi, who is ſaid to have given out that he ſaw his laws written on the back of a flying ſerpent. But even this imputation, if true, ſhews us that writing was known in China before the time of Fo-hi. In fine, it is not for us in this weſtern corner of the globe, to diſpute the archives of a nation who were completely civilized, while we were no more than a herd of ſavages.

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Id. page 10.] The Chineſe invented a cycle, or computation of time, which begins 2602 years before ours. Is it for us then to diſpute a chronology which has been unanimouſly received by a whole people? Is it for us, I ſay, who have at leaſt threeſcore different ſyſtems for reckoning ancient dates and times, and conſequently have not one on which we can depend?

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Id. page 12.] Certain learned chronologiſts have computed, that from one ſingle family remaining after the deluge, the members of which were conſtantly employed in the buſineſs of procreation, and their children the ſame, there was begotten in the ſpace of 250 years, a far greater number of ſouls than the whole world at preſent contains. Surely the Talmud, or the Arabian tales, never broached any thing half ſo abſurd! Children are not begot with the daſh of a pen. Examine our colonies; examine the prodigious cluſter of iſlands in Aſia, which furniſh not a ſingle ſoul; or the Moldivian, Philippine and Molucca iſlands, which have not half their proper number of inhabitants.

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Id. page 14.] The journal of the Chineſe empire, which is the moſt authentic and uſeful work of its kind in the known world, inaſmuch as it contains the particulars of all the public wants, and the reſources and intereſts

tereſts of all the orders of the ſtate: This journal, I ſay, informs us, that in the year of our vulgar æra 1725, the wife of the emperor Yontohin, whom he had cauſed to be declared empreſs, did, according to the ancient cuſtom on ſuch occaſions, diſtribute preſents to all the poor women in China above ſeventy years of age. The journal reckons in the ſingle province of Canton 98,220 women of ſeventy years of age who received the bounty on this occaſion, 40,893 of eighty and upwards, and 3453 who were near an hundred. How many women then muſt there have been, who were not entitled to this donation? We have here above 142,000 who partook thereof in one province only. Theſe are among the number accounted of no uſe to the ſtate. How prodigious then muſt be the population of this country? Only ſuppoſing every one entitled to the bounty throughout the empire to have received the value of ten livres *, to what an immenſe ſum muſt this have amounted!

Id. page 16.] There is a particular paſſage in the third book of Confucius, which ſhews how very ancient the uſe of armed chariots is. In his time, the viceroys, or governors of provinces, were obliged to furniſh the emperor, or head of the empire, with a thouſand war-chariots, drawn by four horſes a-breaſt, and a thouſand four-wheeled chariots. Homer, who flouriſhed a century after the Chineſe philoſopher, never ſpeaks of chariots with more than three or four horſes a-breaſt. The Chineſe had undoubtedly firſt begun, and were become perfect maſters in the uſe of four-wheeled chariots; but neither the Greeks in the time of the Trojan war, nor the Chineſe, appear to have made uſe of ſingle cavalry, and yet it is almoſt beyond diſpute, that the method of fighting on horſeback was prior to the uſe of chariots. We are told that Pharaoh king of Egypt had horſemen, and at the ſame time that he made uſe of chariots of war.

* About eight ſhillings and ſixpence ſterling.

Id. page 17.] It is certain that the Chineſe were acquainted with the elements of geometry many ages before Euclid; and the emperor did of late years aſſure father Parenin, the moſt learned and wiſe of any of the miſſionaries who had acceſs to the perſon of that prince, that the emperor Yu had made uſe of the properties of the right-angled triangle, in drawing the geographical plan of a province above 3960 years ago; and father Parenin himſelf quotes a book wrote above 1100 years before our vulgar æra, which ſays, that the famous demonſtration which the weſtern part of the world attributed to Pythagoras, had for a long time been in the number of the moſt generally known theorems.

Id. page 19.] The fundamental law in China being, to conſider the empire as one family, is the reaſon why the welfare of the community is attended to as the firſt and principal duty; hence that particular care which the emperor and the ſeveral tribunals ſhew in keeping the highways in repair, in making comunications between rivers, in forming canals, and in encouraging the agriculture and manufactories.

We ſhall ſet apart another ſection for treating of the Chineſe government. But you are to obſerve before hand, that the travellers and miſſionaries have affirmed it to be altogether deſpotic. But here they judge only from outward appearances; and becauſe they ſee men fall flat on their faces before another, imagine from thence, that they muſt all be ſlaves to that perſon, and that he has abſolute power over the lives and fortunes of an hundred millions of men, to whom his ſole will muſt be a law. But this is an erroneous opinion, as we ſhall ſhew more at large in another place; for the preſent I ſhall content myſelf with obſerving, that, in the firſt ages of this monarchy, the people were permitted to write down any complaints they might have againſt the adminiſtration, on a long table placed for that purpoſe in an apartment of the palace, and that this cuſtom was received in its full force under the reign of Vengthi, two centuries before our vulgar æra; and laſtly, that, in times

times of peace, the repreſentations of the tribunals have always had the force of law.

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Chap. II. page 19.] Confucius begins his book by ſaying, that whoever is deſtined to rule over a nation, ought "to purify that reaſon which he has received "from heaven, in the ſame manner as we cleanſe a mir-"rour when it is ſullied;" and alſo, that he ought "to form himſelf anew, in order to new-model the "the people committed to his care." All he ſays tends to the ſame end. He does not pretend to inſpiration, or the gift of prophecy. He places all his merit in a conſtant endeavour to gain the maſtery over his paſſions, and he writes only as a philoſopher: accordingly the Chineſe conſider him only as a philoſopher.

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Id. page 20.] We know very little about materialiſm, and far leſs about immaterialiſm. The Chineſe did not know more of it than ourſelves, and their learned were ſatisfied with adoring a Supreme Being. Of this there can be no doubt.

The belief that God and his angels were corporeal, was an old metaphyſical error; but not to believe that there is any God, is an error incompatible with a wiſe government. It is a contradiction worthy of ourſelves to cry out with vehemence againſt Bayle, for believing that a ſociety of atheiſts may ſubſiſt, and at the ſame time to affirm, that the wiſeſt empire in the univerſe is founded on atheiſtical principles.

Father Fouquet the Jeſuit, who lived 25 years in China, and left it a declared enemy to thoſe of his own order, has told me ſeveral times, that there were very few of the Chineſe philoſophers atheiſts. The ſame may hold good amongſt us.

Of the INDIES.

Vol. I. chap. III. THIS country is the only one in the world that produces thoſe ſpices which the temperance of the natives can do without, and which the epicuriſm of the inhabitants of theſe northern climates have rendered a neceſſary food.

Id. page 25, 26.] Pythagoras, the gymnoſophiſt, may alone ſerve as an inconteſtible proof that true ſcience was cultivated in India. A maſter in politics and geometry would not long have remained in a ſchool where they taught nothing but empty words. It is even more than probable that Pythagoras learnt the properties of the right-angled triangle from the Indians, the invention of which was afterwards aſcribed to him; for as it was ſo well known in China, it might eaſily be the ſame in India. It has been frequently ſaid, that he offered an hecatomb of bullocks on the diſcovery. This was rather an extravagant offering for a philoſopher. It is certainly well becoming a wiſe man to return thanks for a happy thought, to him who is the giver of all knowledge, as well as of being; but it is more likely that Pythagoras was indebted for this theorem to the gymnoſophiſts, than that he ſacrificed an hecatomb of bullocks.

Id. page 26.] The Indian ſages treated morality and philoſophy under the veil of fable and allegory long before the time of Pilpay. When they wanted to deſcribe the equity of any one of their kings, they ſaid, that "the "gods who preſide over the ſeveral elements having "a diſpute among themſelves, had choſen this king as "umpire between them." Their ancient traditions give an account of a judgment much like that of Solomon's. They have a fabulous ſtory exactly the ſame as that of Jupiter and Amphitryon, but more ingeniouſly imagined, for a ſage by his ſuperior knowledge diſcovers which of them is the god, and which the mortal. Theſe traditions ſhew the great antiquity of thoſe allegories which

which make all extraordinary men to be children of the gods. The Greeks learnt all their mythology from the Indians and Egyptians. All theſe parables formerly included a philoſophical meaning; in proceſs of time the meaning was loſt, and the fable remained.

Science has greatly degenerated among the Indians: poſſibly the Tartarian government may have damped the genius of thoſe people, and the Ottoman government has that of the Greeks and the Egyptians, which latter it has in a manner made ſtupid. The ſciences are likewiſe almoſt annihilated among the Perſians, from the multitude of revolutions that ſtate has undergone. We have ſeen, that they have continued in China in much the ſame degree of mediocrity as amongſt us in the middle age, and from the ſame cauſe which operated with us, namely, a ſuperſtitious veneration for antiquity, and the rules and dogmas of ſchools. Thus the human mind finds ſomething to check its progreſs in every country.

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Id. Page 27.] Some have imagined that the human race was originally of Indoſtan, and alledged in defence of their opinion, that the moſt helpleſs of all animals would be naturally produced in the mildeſt of all climates, and in a country where the ground ſpontaneouſly produced the moſt wholſome and nouriſhing fruits; ſuch as dates and cocoas, the latter of which in particular, produce, with a very little trouble, wherewithal to afford him food, raiment, and lodgings; and what more can an inhabitant of this iſthmus ſtand in need of? The labourer there works almoſt naked, and two yards of a thin ſtuff is more than ſufficient for a covering to their women, who are ſtrangers to luxury. The children continue naked as they are born till the age of puberty. Mattraſſes, feather-beds, rich coverlids, and double curtains folding over each other, which we purchaſe with ſo much pains and expence, would be inſufferable inconveniences to theſe people, who cannot ſleep otherwiſe than upon a mat, in the open air.

Thoſe houſes of carnage, which with us are called fleſh-markets, and where ſo many carcaſes are ſold to nouriſh ours, would occaſion a plague in the Indian climate. The natives want only light and cooling food, and nature has accordingly beſtowed on them, with a liberal hand, vaſt woods of citron, orange and fig, palm and cocoa trees, and fields covered with rice. The moſt robuſt man in that country could not expend more than two-pence a-day for his diet, whereas a labouring man with us ſpends more in eating in one day, than would ſerve a Malabar for a Month. Theſe ſeveral conſiderations ſeem to corroborate the ancient opinion, that man is originally a native of a country, where nature has provided for all his wants, and left him little or nothing to do himſelf. But this only proves that the Indians themſelves are *indigenæ*, and not that the ſeveral other races of men came from this country. The whites, the blacks, the reds, the Laplanders, the Samojedes, and the Albinos, or white Moors, are certainly not natives of the ſame climate. There is as diſtinguiſhing a difference between all theſe kinds, as between a horſe and a camel. No one then but an ignorant and obſtinate bramin would attempt to ſay that all mankind are deſcended from the Indian . . . . . and his wife.

Id. page 27.] The weſtern nations have always carried their gold and ſilver into India, increaſing the wealth of that country already ſo rich of itſelf. Hence it comes that we never ſee the inhabitants of India, of China, or the banks of the river Ganges, quit their own country, to make incurſions on other nations, as was the cuſtom with the Arabs, both Jews and Saracens, the Tartars, and even the Romans themſelves, who being ſituated in the worſt part of all Italy, lived in the beginning wholly by war, as they do at preſent by religion.

It is beyond doubt, that the continent of India was of a much larger extent formerly than it is at preſent. The iſlands which are ſcattered between it and the eaſtern

and

and ſouthern part of the continent were, in the early ages of the world, a part of the Terra Firma, as may appear by the ſhallowneſs of the ſea which ſeparates them, the trees that grow at its bottom, which are exactly the ſame with thoſe found on the iſlands, and, laſtly, thoſe new portions of land which it frequently leaves dry; all which ſhew that this part of the continent has been formerly overflowed; and this has happened as a neceſſary conſequence, when the ocean, which always gains in one part what it loſes in another, returned from our weſtern ſhores.

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Id. page 28.] The abominable cuſtom by which the women in India make a point of honour to burn themſelves on the bodies of their huſbands, is not yet aboliſhed. The widow of the king of Tangour burned herſelf in this manner, in the year 1735, on the funeral pile of her huſband. Mr. Dumas and Mr. Dupleix were witneſſes of ſeveral of theſe inhuman ſacrifices. This is certainly the utmoſt extent of error and ſuperſtition over the perverted mind of man. The moſt auſtere derviſe is a puſillanimous wretch in compariſon of a Malabar woman.

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Id. page 28.] It certainly was not chriſtianity that flouriſhed in India in the ſixth century, it was mahometaniſm, which had been introduced there after the conqueſt of the caliphs, and Aaron Raſchild, or Haroun Alraſchid. This illuſtrious cotemporary of Charlemagne, who conquered Africa, Syria, Perſia, and a part of India, ſent ſome muſulmans, miſſionaries to propagate the Mahometan faith among the inhabitants on the borders of the Ganges, thoſe of the iſles in the Indian ſea, and even a hord of negroes. From that time there were a great number of miſſionaries in India. We do not find that the great Aaron converted the Indians by fire and ſword, as Charlemagne did the Saxons; neither do we find that the Indians refuſed to ſubmit to the yoke of Aaron Raſchild, as the Saxons did to that of Charlemagne.

The

The Indians have always been as remarkable for their mildneſs, as our northern race for their roughneſs. The ſoftneſs which is begotten by a climate, is not to be overcome, but roughneſs is to be ſoftened.

In general, the men inhabiting the ſouth eaſt part of the globe, have received from nature gentler manners than we who dwell in the weſtern hemiſphere. Their climate naturally diſpoſes them to abſtinence from ſtrong liquors and fleſh-meats, foods which inflame the blood, and frequently to a degree of madneſs; and altho' the natural goodneſs of their diſpoſitions may have been corrupted by ſuperſtition, and the repeated irruptions of foreigners, yet all travellers agree, that theſe people have nothing of that petulance and ſourneſs in their nature, which has coſt ſo much pains to keep under in the people of the north.

There being ſo great a phyſical difference between us and the natives of India, there muſt undoubtedly have been as great a moral one. Their vices were in general leſs violent than ours. Like us they in vain ſought for a remedy againſt the irregularity of their manners. It was from time immemorial a maxim with them and the Chineſe, "that the wiſe man was to come from the weſt." We Europeans, on the contrary, ſaid, "that the wiſe man was to come from the eaſt." All nations have, in all times, ſtood in need of a wiſe man.

Of the BRAMINS, the VEDAM, and the EZOUR-VEDAM.

AS India ſupplies the wants of all the world, but is herſelf beholden for nothing, ſhe muſt for that very reaſon have been the moſt early civiliſed of any country, and by a like conſequence neceſſarily have had the moſt ancient form of worſhip. It is moſt probable the religion of India was for a long time the ſame with that of the Chineſe government, and conſiſted only in the pure and ſimple worſhip of a Supreme Being, free from any ſuperſtition and fanaticiſm.

This

This ſimple religion was formed by the firſt bramins, ſuch as it was eſtabliſhed in China by the firſt kings of that country. Theſe bramins, who at that time governed India, were the peaceable rulers of a mild and diſcerning people, and were at the ſame time the chiefs of religion. That religion muſt be ſimple and rational, becauſe its chiefs have no occaſion for errors to procure them obedience. It is ſo natural to believe in one only God, and to adore him, and to feel from the very ſoul that he muſt be juſt, that where a ruler declares theſe truths, the faith of the people prevent his words. It requires ſome time to eſtabliſh arbitrary laws, but a ſingle inſtant is ſufficient to teach a number of people aſſembled, to believe that there is a God, and to hearken to the dictates of their own hearts.

The firſt bramins then, being at once kings and pontiffs, could not eſtabliſh religion but on the foundation of univerſal reaſon; but it is not ſo in thoſe countries where the pontifical and regal dignity are ſeparate. In this caſe the religious functions, which belong originally to the heads of families, form a diſtinct profeſſion. The ſervice of God becomes a trade, and to make this worth carrying on, recourſe muſt ſometimes be had to deluſions and impoſtures.

Religion then degenerated among the bramins as ſoon as they ceaſed to be ſovereigns.

The bramins had ceaſed to rule in India long before the time of Alexander the Great; but their tribe, or *caſt* as it was called, ſtill held the chief rank, as it continues to do to this day; and it was from this tribe that they took thoſe ſages (true or falſe) which the Greeks called Gymnoſophiſts. It cannot be denied, that, even in their decline, they gave many proofs of that kind of virtue which is compatible with the illuſions of fanaticiſm. They continued to acknowledge one ſupreme God, in the midſt of the multitude of ſubordinate deities, which popular ſuperſtition adopted in all countries in the world. Strabo expreſsly ſays, that in the main the bramins acknowledge only one God. In this they reſemble Confucius, Orpheus, Socrates, Plato, Marcus Aurelius, Epictetus, all the ſages, and all the hierophantes,

tes, or thoſe who had the care of the ſacred myſteries. The ſeven years of probationerſhip among the bramins, and the ſilence enjoined during that term, were ſtill in force in the time of Strabo. The celibacy to be obſerved during this noviciate, the abſtaining from the fleſh of houſhold animals, were laws which they never tranſgreſſed, and which ſtill ſubſiſt among them. They held one God, the creator, preſerver, and avenger, and believed the fall and degeneracy of man; and this opinion is every where to be met with among the people of antiquity. *Aurea ſata eſt ætas* is the device of all nations.

Apuleius, Quintus Curtius, Clemens Alexandrinus, Philoſtratus, Porphiry, and Palladio, all agree in their encomiums on the extreme temperance and frugality of the bramins, their life of retirement and penance, their vows of poverty, and the contempt they ſhew for all the vanities of this world. St. Ambroſe makes no ſcruple to prefer their manners to thoſe of the chriſtians of his time; though perhaps this may be one of thoſe allowable exaggerations meant to correct the irregularities of his fellow citizens; and this panegyric on the bramins might be intended as a ſalutary ſatire on the monks; and had St. Ambroſe lived in India, he would probably have praiſed the monks in order to put the bramins to the bluſh. However, we know, from a multitude of teſtimonies, that theſe men were every where in high reputation, on account of the ſanctity of their lives.

That belief of one only God, for which they are ſo eſteemed by all philoſophers, continues with them, in the midſt of the numberleſs idols with which their country abounds, and the extravagant ſuperſtition of the common people.

A French poet ſays, in one of his epiſtles, of which every line is almoſt a falſhood,

" L'Inde aujourd'hui voit l'orgueilleux brachmane,
" Deifier brutalement zélé,
" Le diable même en bronze ciſelé."

" —— India

" ——— India beholds
" Her bramin, vain of fancy'd piety,
" Proſtrate before his brazen deity,
" With brutal zeal e'en Satan's name invoke."

But certainly men who do not belive in a devil, will hardly invoke that devil. Such abſurd reproaches are unſufferable. The devil was never adored in any one country in the world. The Manichæans themſelves never paid any worſhip to the evil ſpirit, nor is it any where enjoined in the religion of Zoroaſter. It is high time for us to lay aſide the mean cuſtom of calumniating all ſects, and abuſing all nations but our own.

I have in my hands a tranſlation of one of the moſt ancient manuſcripts in the world. I do not mean the *Vedam* which is ſo much ſpoken of in India, and which has not hitherto been communicated to any of our European literati. It is the *Ezour-vedam*, an ancient commentary, compoſed by Chumontou on this Vedam, which the bramins pretend to be the moſt holy of all books, and to have been delivered by God himſelf to man. This commentary has been digeſted by a very learned bramin, who has done many great ſervices to our India company, and who tranſlated it himſelf out of the holy tongue into French.*

In the *Ezour-vedam*, or commentary, Chumontou ſtrongly attacks idolatry. He firſt quotes the words of the Vedam itſelf:

" The Supreme Being has created all things, both " animate and inanimate. There have been four dif- " ferent ages of the world; every thing periſhed at " the end of each age. The whole world was drowned, " and a deluge is the paſſage from one age to another, " &c.

" When God exiſted alone, and no other being " exiſted with him, he formed the deſign of creating the " world. He at firſt created time, and then the water " and the earth, and from the mixture of the five ele-

* I have made a preſent of this MS. to the king's library, where any one may have a ſight of it.

" ments,

" ments, namely, earth, water, fire, light and air, he " formed the different bodies, and gave them the earth " as their baſis. He made the globe we inhabit oval, or " in the ſhape of an egg. In the midſt of the earth is " the higheſt of all mountains, whoſe name is Meron, " (i. e. *Immaus.)* The firſt man created by God was " called *Adimo*, his wife's name was *Procriti*. Of Adimo " was born *Brama*, who was the lawgiver of nations, " and the father of the bramins."

How many curious things are here in a few words! The firſt that preſents itſelf to us is this important truth, that God is the creator of the world: then follows the primitive ſource of the old fable of the four ages, the golden, the ſilver, the brazen, and the iron. All the principles of ancient divinity are included in the Vedam. We there find the Deucalidonian deluge, which is only an emblem of the prodigious trouble that men found in thoſe times to drain the ground, which the negligence of their forefathers had ſuffered to lie under water. The quotations in this Vedam, or holy manuſcript, are all of them ſupriſing. We there find the following admirable ſentence word for word:

" God never created ſin, nor can he be the author " thereof. God, who is wiſdom and holineſs, created " only virtue."

The following is one of the moſt ſingular paſſages in the Vedam:

" When the firſt man came from the hand of God, " he ſaid to him, There will be different occupations " on the earth, every man will not be fit to exerciſe all, " how are we to diſtinguiſh ſuch as are proper for " each? God anſwered him, Thoſe who are born with " a greater knowledge of, and inclination for virtue than " the reſt, ſhall be bramins. Thoſe who partake the " moſt of *roſogoun*, (*i. e.* ambition) ſhall be warriors, " thoſe who partake the moſt of *tomogun* (*i. e.* avarice) " ſhall be merchants, and thoſe who partake the moſt " of *comogun* (*i. e.*) bodily ſtrength, and a limited un- " derſtanding) ſhall be employed in ſervile labours."

In theſe words we have the true origin of the *four caſts* in India, or rather of the four conditions of human ſociety;

ſociety; for, indeed, on what can the inequality of theſe conditions be founded, but on an inequality of talents? The Vedam goes on and ſays,

"The Supreme Being has neither body nor figure;" and the Ezour-vedam adds, "All ſuch who give the "Deity hands or feet, are fools or madmen." Chumontou then quotes theſe words of the Vedam:

"When God took all things from nothing, he created "a diſtinct individual of each ſpecies, willing that it "ſhould contain its own germ within itſelf, in order to "produce its like. He is the ſovereign and lord of all "things. The ſun is but a body without life and know-"ledge, and is, in the hands of God, like a candle in "the hands of a man."

After this, the author of the commentary, as he is attacking the opinion of the modern bramins, who admit ſeveral incarnations in the gods *Brama* and *Wiſnou*, expreſſes himſelf thus:

"Tell me, blind and ſenſeleſs man, who were *Kochiopo* "and *Odite*, of whom thou ſayeſt thy god was born? "Were they not mortals like us? Shall t en that God, "who is pure in his nature, and eternal in his eſſence, "ſtoop to loſe himſelf in the embraces of a woman, "in order to take a human ſhape? Doſt thou not bluſh "to repreſent that God to us, in the poſture of a ſup-"pliant before one of his creatures? Haſt thou loſt "thy underſtanding? or art thou come to that heighth "of impiety, as not to bluſh at making the Divine "Being act the part of an impoſtor and a liar?—Ceaſe "then to deceive mankind; and on this condition, and "this only, I will explain to thee the *Vedam*; for if "thou remaineſt in the ſame ſentiments, thou art in-"capable of underſtanding it, and it would be profa-"nation to attempt to teach it thee."

In the third book of this commentary, the author refutes the fable of the incarnation of the god Brama, invented by the modern bramins, who pretend he appeared in India under the name of *Kopilo*, that is to ſay, the Penitent, and that he choſe to be born of *Dehobuti*, the wife of a man in good circumſtances, whoſe name was *Kordomo*.

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"If

" If it is true, ſays the commentator, that Brama " was born upon earth, how came he eternal? Would " he, who is ſupremely happy, and in whom alone is " our happineſs, have ſubmitted to ſuffer all the pains " and inconveniencies of an infant, &c."

After this there follows a deſcription of hell, exactly like that which the Egyptians and Greeks have given us of Tartarus. " What muſt we do, it then ſays, to " avoid hell?" " We muſt love God, replies the com- " mentator Chomontou; we muſt do what is ordered " in the Vedam, and in the manner there preſcribed. " There are, ſays he, four ways of loving God. The " firſt is, to love him for his own ſake, and without any " ſelf-view; the ſecond is, to love him thro' intereſt; " the third is, to love him only in thoſe moments when " our paſſions are predominant; and the fourth is, to " love him only for the ſake of obtaining the object of " thoſe paſſions; and this laſt way does not deſerve the " name of love."

This is the ſummary of the moſt remarkable paſſages in the *Vedam*, a book hitherto unknown in Europe, and to almoſt all Aſia.

The bramins have degenerated more and more. The *Cormoredam*, which is their ritual, is a collection of ſuperſtitious ceremonies, which would make any one laugh who is not born on the borders of the Ganges or Indies; or in other words, any one, who not being a philoſopher, is ſurpriſed at the follies of other nations, and not at thoſe of his own country. As ſoon as an infant is born, it muſt have the word *oum* pronounced over it, or it will be for ever unhappy. Its tongue muſt then be rubbed with conſecrated meal. Certain prayers are to be ſaid over it, and at each prayer, the name of ſome god is to be pronounced. The third day of the new moon, the child is to be laid in the open air, with its head turned towards the north.

The detail of every trifling circumſtance is immenſe. The whole is a collection of all the follies, wherewith the ſtudy of judicial aſtrology can have inſpired the brains of an ingenious but extravagant, or deſigning body

of

of learned men. The whole life of a bramin is taken up with theſe ceremonious triflings. They have a particular ceremony for every day of the year. Mankind ſeem to have become weak and effeminate in India, in proportion as they have been ſubjected; and there is great appearance, that after each conqueſt they were loaded with new ceremonies, and new penances. Sezac, Madies, the Aſſyrians, the Perſians, Alexander, the Arabians, the Tartars, and in our own days Sha Nadir, by their ſucceſſive incurſions and ravages in this beautiful country, have formed a nation of devotees, of thoſe whom nature had not formed for war.

Their pagods, or temples, were never ſo rich as in times of the greateſt miſery and humiliation. Each of theſe pagods has a conſiderable revenue belonging to it, which is further increaſed by the offerings of the devout. When a raja (or Indian nobleman) paſſes by a pagod, he immediately alights from his horſe, his camel, his elephant, or his palanquin, and walks on foot till he is out of the diſtrict of that pagod.

The ancient commentary on the Vedam, from which I have given the above extracts, appears to me to have been written before the time of Alexander's conqueſts in India, for we meet with none of thoſe names which the Greek conquerors gave to the rivers, towns, and provinces of that country. India itſelf is called *Zomboudipo*; mount Immaus, *Merou*; and the Ganges, *Zenoubi*. Theſe ancient names are at preſent known only to thoſe learned in the holy language.

The ancient purity of the religion of the firſt bramins ſubſiſts no longer, except among a few of their philoſophers, and theſe do not give themſelves the trouble of inſtructing a people who will not receive inſtruction, and who indeed deſerve it not. They would even run ſome hazard in attempting to undeceive them; the ignorant bramins would ſet up the cry of hereſy and impiety, in which they would be joined by the women, who are devoted to the ſervice of their pagods, and fond, to a degree of enthuſiaſm, of all the little ſuperſtitious ceremonies employed therein. Whoever attempts to teach his fellow citizens reaſon, is ſure of being

being perſecuted for his pains, unleſs he has the arm of power on his ſide; and we generally find, that thoſe who uſe the arm of power, rivet the chains of ignorance inſtead of breaking them.

The Mahometan religion is the only one that has made any great progreſs in India, eſpecially among the higher rank of people: the reaſon is, that it is the religion of the ſovereign, and that it teaches the worſhip of one God, agreeable to the ancient doctrine of the bramins. Chriſtianity has not met with the ſame ſucceſs in this country, notwithſtanding the evident holineſs of its doctrine, and the numerous ſettlements of the Portugueſe, French, Engliſh, Dutch, and Danes: and indeed this mixture of nations may have been the chief hindrance to the progreſs of our holy faith: for as they all hate each other, and frequently are at war between themſelves in this country, it has made the doctrine they teach deſpiſed. Moreover, the Indians are diſguſted with our cuſtoms, and ſcandalized to ſee us drink wine, and eat fleſh-meats, which they hold in abhorrence. The conformation of our organs of ſpeech, which occaſions us to pronounce the Aſiatic languages ſo badly is another almoſt inſurmountable obſtacle; but the greateſt is the difference of opinions which divide our miſſionaries. Thoſe of the catholic communion oppoſe thoſe of the church of England, theſe latter the Lutherans, who are again oppoſed by the Calviniſts; thus, every one contradicting another, and all pretending to publiſh the voice of truth, and mutually charging each other with falſhood, confound a ſimple and peaceable people, who view, with aſtoniſhment, a ſet of furious men crowding into their country from the weſtern extremities of the earth, to cut each others throats on the borders of the Ganges.

It muſt be confeſſed that we have had ſome miſſionaries in that part of the world, who have commanded reſpect by their piety, and the gentleneſs of their manners, and who cannot be accuſed of having exaggerated their labours or their ſucceſſes. But all thoſe who have been ſent from Europe to make converts

in Asia, have not been men of understanding and virtue. The famous Nelcamp, author of the history of the Tranquebar mission, acknowledges, "That the Portu-"gueſe filled the seminary of Goa with malefactors "who had been condemned to baniſhment, who being "afterwards made miſſionaries, could not even in that "character forget their old trade." Our holy religion has made very little progreſs in theſe parts; and none at all in the dominions immediately ſubject to the great mogul. Mahometaniſm and the religion of Brama continue to divide this vaſt continent between them.

MAHOMET.

Vol I. chap. IV. p. 28, 29, 30.

THERE never was a conqueror or legiſlator whoſe life has been written with greater authenticity, or handed down to us with a more circumſtantial exactneſs, than that of Mahomet, by thoſe writers who were his cotemporaries. If we diveſt it of thoſe miracles, with a belief of which the people of that part of the world were infatuated, we ſhall have an account agreeable to known truths in all its parts. He was born at Mecca, in Arabia Petræa, in April 579, according to our vulgar æra. His father's name was *Abdala*, that of his mother *Emena*. It is beyond contradiction, that his family was one of the moſt conſiderable of its tribe, which was that of Korah. But the genealogy which makes him to be deſcended in a right line from Abraham, appears to be one of thoſe fables invented by the natural deſire which mankind have to impoſe upon one another.

The manners and ſuperſtitions of the primitive ages of which we have already taken a review, were ſtill preſerved in Arabia, as will appear by the vow which Abdalah Moutaleb, the grandfather of Mahomet, made to offer one of his children in ſacrifice. A prieſteſs of the temple of Mecca, ordered him to redeem his ſon by offering a certain number of camels, which the exaggeration, common among the Arabians, makes to amount to

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an hundred. This prieſteſs was dedicated to the ſervice of a ſtar, which is ſuppoſed to have been Sirius, or the dog-ſtar, for each tribe had its particular ſtar or planet; they alſo paid divine honours to genii and demi-gods, but ſtill acknowledged a ſuperior deity; and in this reſpect almoſt all nations ſeem to be agreed.

Abdallah Moutaleb is ſaid to have lived to the age of an hundred and ten; his ſon Mahomet carried arms when he was only fourteen years old, in a war upon the confines of Syria; but being afterwards reduced to very low circumſtances, one of his uncles placed him as factor to a widow woman called Cadeſche, who exerciſed the profeſſion of a merchant; at this time he was twenty-five years of age. This widow ſoon after took her young factor for her huſband, and Mahomet's uncle, who brought about this match, gave his nephew twelve ounces of gold, or near nine hundred franks of our money *, which was the whole patrimony of him who was one day to change the face of the moſt extenſive and beautiful country in the world. Mahomet lived in obſcurity with his miſtreſs, now his wife, to the age of forty.

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Id. page 33.] Mahomet reſolved within himſelf to root out of his country the doctrine of the Sabæans, which conſiſts in a medley worſhip of the true God and of the ſtars. Judaiſm, which is held in abhorrence by the nations, and which at that time began to make a conſiderable progreſs in Aſia, and laſtly, chriſtianity, which he knew only by the irregularities and ill conduct of the ſeveral ſects ſpread over the face of his country; he deſigned to reſtore the ſimple worſhip of Abraham, whoſe deſcendent he pretended to be, and to bring all mankind to believe in the only God; a tenet which he thought grievouſly changed and mutilated in all religions. This he in effect declares himſelf in the third ſura or chapter of his Alcoran, where he thus expreſſes himſelf, "God knows, and ye do not know. Abraham "was neither Jew nor Chriſtian, but a believer of the "true

* About 37l. Sterling.

" true God. He had given his heart to God, and was " not of the number of idolaters."

It is probable that Mahomet, like all enthuſiaſts, being forcibly ſtruck with his own ideas, uttered them at firſt as he felt them; theſe growing afterwards more ſtrong by being often repeated, he deceived himſelf while he was deceiving others; and at length he had recourſe to impoſture to ſupport a doctrine which he thought right. He began by eſtabliſhing his credit as a prophet with thoſe of his own family, which was perhaps the moſt difficult part of his undertaking. His wife, and young Ali the huſband of his daughter Fatima, were his firſt diſciples.

He quickly found that his countrymen were incenſed againſt him, on account of the innovations he wanted to introduce; but this was no more than what he had reaſon to expect. His anſwer to the threats of the Koraſhites, at once paints the character of the man, and ſhews the method of expreſſion uſed by thoſe of his nation. " Though ye were to come againſt me, ſays he, " with the ſun in one hand, and the moon in the other, " I would not depart from my purpoſe."

He had raiſed only ſixteen diſciples, four of which were women, when he was obliged to make them quit Mecca, on account of the perſecution raiſed againſt them; and ſent them to preach his religion in Æthiopia. He boldly remained behind, where he braved all his enemies, and continued making new converts, whom he ſent into Æthiopia to the number of an hundred. But that which gave the greateſt weight to his new religion, was the converſion of Omar, who, from having been a long time his perſecutor, became his diſciple. This Omar, who was afterwards a great conqueror, ſtanding up in the midſt of a numerous aſſembly, cried out with a loud voice, " I atteſt that there is but one God, that " he has neither companion nor equal, and that Maho- " met is his ſervant and prophet."

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Id. page 35] Mahomet undoubtedly was neither ignorant nor illiterate, as ſome have pretended. He muſt, on the contrary, have been a perſon of great learning for

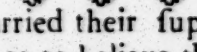
for one of his nation, and the times he lived in, ſince we have ſome medical aphoriſms of his; and that we know he corrected the Arabian kalendar, as Cæſar did that of the Romans He was a poet, as appears by his Koran, the laſt verſes of every chapter being in rhyme, and the reſt in meaſured proſe; and this air of poetry contributed not a little to render his book reſpectable; for the Arabians held poetry in the higheſt eſteem, and wherever there happened to be a good poet in any one of their tribes, the other tribes ſent a kind of ambaſſador, with compliments of congratulation to that which had produced an author, whom they looked upon as inſpired, and an uſeful member. The beſt productions of this kind were fixed up in the temple of Mecca, and the ſecond chapter of Mahomet's Koran was placed there, which begins thus, "There is no room "for doubt; this is the knowledge of the righteous, "and of thoſe who believe in the holy myſteries, who "pray at the proper times, who give with liberality, &c." One Abid, who at that time bore the palm as the firſt poet in Mecca, tore down his own verſes which had been hung up in the temple, and from an admirer became a diſciple of Mahomet. Theſe are manners, cuſtoms and facts, totally different from any amongſt us; and may ſerve to ſhew us what an amazing variety of colouring is in the great picture of nature, and how cautious we ſhould be not to judge of the manners and cuſtoms of other nations by thoſe of our own.

Id. page 37.] Notwithſtanding the ſtrong conformity of manners between the Iſmaelites, and the ancient Hebrews, as to their enthuſiaſm and thirſt after plunder, yet the former were greatly ſuperior to the latter in courage, generoſity and magnanimity. Their hiſtory, both true and fabulous, before the time of Mahomet, abounds with examples of friendſhip, equal to any in the Græcian fables of Pylades and Oreſtes, Theſeus and Pirithoüs. The hiſtory of the Barmecides is one continued tale of unexampled generoſity, which tranſports the ſoul with admiration in the recital. Theſe inſtances characteriſe a nation. On the contrary, we do not

See page 44 and note.

not meet with one generous action in all the Hebrew annals. They were ſtrangers to hoſpitality, generoſity, and clemency. Their greateſt happineſs conſiſted, and ſtill does, in exerciſing the moſt rapacious uſury towards ſtrangers; and this ſpirit of uſury, which is the foundation of all baſeneſs, is engrafted in their hearts, which is the perpetual object of the figures which may employ us in that kind of eloquence peculiar to themſelves. They glory in laying waſte, with fire and ſword, thoſe defenceleſs towns or villages, of which they can make themſelves the maſters. They put to death all the old men and children, reſerving only young maidens who are marriageable. They aſſaſſinate their maſters when they are ſlaves, and never liſten to mercy when they are conquerors; in a word, they are enemies of human kind. We find not the leaſt footſteps of politeneſs, knowledge, or any one of the uſeful or agreeable arts among this neſt of barbarians. But after the ſecond age of the Hajaira, the Arabians became the preceptors of Europe in the arts and ſciences, notwithſtanding that their religion ſeems to be the profeſſed foe of all polite accompliſhments.

See page 39.] This diviſion ſowed the firſt ſeeds of that great ſchiſm, which at preſent ſeparates the two ſects of Omar and Hali, the Sunni and the Chias, the Turks and the modern Perſians.



The Arabians carried their ſuperſtitious reſpect for the Alcoran, ſo far as to believe that the original was written in heaven. The grand diſpute was, whether this book was written from all eternity, or only in the time of Mahomet. The moſt devout eſpouſed the opinion of its being eternal.

It is well worthy of obſervation, that Omar indulged the Jews and Chriſtians, who inhabited Jeruſalem, with full liberty of conſcience.

Thoſe who are fond of antiquity, and delight in comparing the geniuſes of different nations, will be pleaſed

to ſee the great reſemblance between the manners and cuſtoms in the time of Mahomet, Abubeker and Omar, and thoſe of which Homer has given us ſo faithful a portrait. They will here behold the chiefs of one party, defying thoſe of the oppoſite party to ſingle combat, and ſtepping forth from their reſpective ranks to decide the fate of the day in the preſence of both armies, who remain inactive ſpectators of the conteſt, while the combatants mutually interrogate each other, return defiance for defiance, and invoke the aid of the gods before they begin the fight. There were ſeveral of theſe ſingle combats fought at the ſiege of Damaſcus.

It is evident that the combat of the Amazons, mentioned by Homer and Herodotus, were not founded upon fabulous reports, for the women of the tribe of Himear in Arabia Felix were warriors, and fought in the armies of Abubeker and Omar. However we are not to believe that there was a nation of Amazons, who lived without having any intercourſe with men. But in thoſe ages and countries, where every one lived a rude and paſtoral life, it is not to be wondered at, that women, who were bred up as hardy as the men, ſhould ſometimes wield the ſword as well as they. We have a particular inſtance in the ſiege of Damaſcus of one of theſe women of the tribe of Himear, who ſhot the governor of the city dead, with an arrow, in revenge for the loſs of her huſband, who was killed by her ſide.

This inſtance may ſerve to juſtify Arioſto and Taſſo, who introduce ſo famous warriors in their poems.

Hiſtory affords us ſeveral examples of the like nature in the time of knight errantry. Theſe cuſtoms, which were at all times rare, appear to us at preſent as wholly incredible, eſpecially ſince the invention of artillery, which no longer gives room for the combatant to avail himſelf of his valour, ſkill, and agility; and when armies are become a kind of regular machine, that move, as it were, by ſprings.

The ſpeeches of the Arabian heroes, at the head of their armies in ſingle combat, or in ratifying a truce, are entirely in that natural taſte which we find in Homer, but incomparably more enthuſiaſtic and ſublime.

In

In the eleventh year of the Hegira, in a battle fought between the army of the emperor Heraclius, and that of the Saracens, the Mahometan general Derar, being taken priſoner, and the Muſſulman forces being ſtruck with a panic at the news, one of their captains, whoſe name was Rafi, riding up to them, cried out, "What "matters it if Derar is taken priſoner or killed? God "yet lives and looks upon you; fight on, countrymen." With this ſhort and emphatical ſpeech, he rallied them, and gained the victory.

Another cries out, "Yonder is heaven, fight the "cauſe of God, and he will give you the dominion of "the earth."

The Mahometan general Caled takes the daughter of the emperor Heraclius priſoner in Damaſcus, and ſends her home without ranſom; when he is aſked the reaſon of acting thus, he replies, "Becauſe I hope ſoon to "take the father and daughter together in Conſtantino-"ple."

When the Caliph Mohavia, on his death-bed, in the year of the Hegira 60, ſecured the ſucceſſion, which till then had been elective, to his ſon Yeſud, he expreſſed himſelf thus, "Great God! if I have ſettled my "ſon on the throne of the Caliphs, from a belief that "he was worthy of it, I beſeech thee to confirm him "on the ſame; but if I have only acted from the dic-"tates of a father's fondneſs, I in like manner beſeech "thee to drive him headlong from it."

Every thing that happened in thoſe times ſpoke the character of a nation and people ſuperior to all others.

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Id. page 43.] Algebra was one of the inventions of the Arabians. The word itſelf ſhews it to be from the Arabian *Algarabat*, unleſs we would rather have it derived from the name of the famous Arabian Geber, who was the firſt who taught this art in the eighth century, according to the Chriſtian æra.

OF THE ALCORAN AND THE MAHOMETAN LAW.

WE have already ſeen what were the manners of Mahomet and his countrymen, by whom a great part of the world underwent ſo ſurpriſing and quick a revolution. It now remains to give a faithful deſcription of their religion.

Id. page 33.] We have long entertained a miſtaken notion that the great progreſs of the Mahometan religion was wholly owing to the indulgence it gives to the ſenſual paſſions; but we do not reflect that all the ancient religions of the eaſt allowed a plurality of wives; Mahomet reduced the number to four, which before his time was not limited at all.

It has been a matter of great diſpute among politicians, whether polygamy is really beneficial to ſociety and propagation. The eaſtern practice ſeems to have decided this queſtion pretty clearly in the affirmative; and nature appears to give her teſtimony in favour of this deciſion, with reſpect to almoſt every ſpecies of the animal creation, where there is but one male to ſeveral females. The time loſt in breeding, in bringing forth, and in the other diſorders incident to the female ſex, ſeems to call for ſome opportunities of reparation. The women in hot countries are ſoon paſt their bloom, and ceaſe to bear children. The head of a family, who places his glory and proſperity in the number of his children, has an abſolute neceſſity for another woman to ſupply the place of a wife, who is no longer in a condition to anſwer the purpoſes of marriage. Our laws in the weſt ſeem to be more favourable to the women; thoſe of the eaſt to the men and to the government. There is no one object of legiſlature, but which may be made the ſubject of diſpute. But as we have not room here for entering into a diſſertation, we ſhall confine ourſelves to the deſcription of men and manners, without paſſing judgment on them.

Ibid.]

Ibid.] We every day hear people exclaiming againſt the ſenſual paradiſe of Mahomet; but the ancients knew no other. Hercules had Hebe given him to wife in heaven, as a reward for his labours on earth. Heroes were regaled with nectar at the tables of the gods; and as man was ſuppoſed to riſe again after death, with all his ſenſes about him, it was likewiſe very natural to ſuppoſe that he would taſte, whether in a garden or in any other manſion, thoſe pleaſures which were the objects of the ſenſes that he ſtill retained. And this belief was likewiſe that of the fathers of the church in the ſecond and third century. St. Juſtin, in the ſecond part of his dialogues, eſpreſsly ſays, that "Jeruſalem "ſhall be enlarged and beautified to receive the ſaints "who will there enjoy the higheſt pleaſures, during a "thouſand years."

An hundred writers copying after one, tell us, that the Alcoran was compoſed by a Neſtorian monk. Some have given this monk the name of Sergius; others call him Boheira. But it is evident that the chapters of the Alcoran were written occaſionally by Mahomet during his ſeveral journies and military expeditions. Quere, Had he this monk always at his elbow?

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The Alcoran is not an hiſtorical book, in which the author has aimed at an imitation of the ſacred writings of the Hebrews, and of our holy goſpels; neither is it a book purely containing a body of laws, like thoſe of Deuteronomy and Leviticus; nor is it a collection of pſalms and ſpiritual ſongs, nor a prophetic viſion and allegory, like the apocalypſe: It is a mixture of all theſe ſeveral kinds of writing; a body of homilies, in which we meet with ſome hiſtorical facts, ſome viſions, ſome revelations, and ſome laws, both civil and religious.

The Alcoran is become the code of juriſprudence, as well as of the canonical law, with all the Mahometan nations.

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The commentators on the Alcoran always make a diſtinction between the poſitive and the allegorical ſenſe of the ſeveral paſſages in that book; that is, between

the letter and the ſpirit. The Arabian genius is equally diſcernible in the comment as in the text. One of the moſt approved commentators has this expreſſion to denote the letter and the ſpirit: "The Koran," ſays he, "ſometimes wears the face of a man, and ſometimes "that of a beaſt."

There is one thing that will perhaps ſurpriſe the generality of readers, namely, that there is nothing new in the law of Mahomet, ſave only the tenet, that Mahomet is the prophet of God.

In the firſt place, the unity of a Supreme Being, the creator and preſerver of the univerſe, is a doctrine of a very ancient date. The rewards and puniſhments of a future ſtate, the belief of an heaven and an hell, had been long received among the Chineſe, the Indians, the Perſians, the Greeks, the Romans, and the Jews, and particularly the Chriſtians, whoſe holy religion ſeemed to ſanctify this doctrine.

The Alcoran acknowledges the influence of angels, and genii or guardian ſpirits; that of a reſurrection and laſt judgment, was obviouſly taken from the Jewiſh Talmud, and the doctrine of the Chriſtians. The thouſand years which, according to Mahomet, God will employ in judging mankind, and the manner of that judgment, are adventitious circumſtances, which in no wiſe hinder this notion from being entirely borrowed. The ſharp point over which thoſe who ariſe at the laſt day are to paſs, and from which the damned are to fall headlong down to hell, is taken from the allegorical doctrine of the Magi.

Id. page 39.] It was from theſe very Magi, and their *Jannat*, that Mahomet firſt took his ideas of a paradiſe or garden, where men, after riſing again to life, with all their faculties in perfection, to taſte, by their ſenſes, all thoſe pleaſures which are peculiar to their nature, and which without thoſe ſenſes would be uſeleſs and of no effect. Here he learned his notions of the *Houris*, or theſe heavenly women, who are to be the portion of the bleſt, and which the Magi in their *Sadder* call *Hourani*. Mahomet does not exclude women from his paradiſe, as we have ſo often heard reported. This is only

only a raillery without foundation, ſuch as every nation caſts upon another. He promiſes his followers that they ſhall dwell in a delicious garden, which he calls paradiſe; but the height of their felicity is to conſiſt with the beatic viſion and intercourſe with the ſupreme of all beings.

The doctrine of fatality, and abſolute predeſtination, which ſeems in our days to be the peculiar characteriſtic of the Mahometan faith, was the opinion of all the ancients, and prevails as much in the Iliad as in the Alcoran.

With regard to legal ordinances, ſuch as circumciſion, waſhing, prayers, and the pilgrimage to Mecca, Mahomet in theſe only conformed himſelf to the eſtabliſhed cuſtoms of his time. Circumciſion had been a practice for time immemorial among the Arabians, the ancient Egyptians, the people of Colchis, and the Jews. Ablution or waſhing had been always recommended in the eaſt, as an emblem of the purity of the ſoul.

Id. page 39.] Prayer is enjoined by every religion; that of Mahomet obliged its followers to pray five times a day; this was a great reſtraint, but a reſtraint highly laudable and reſpectable. Would any one dare to complain that the creature was obliged to worſhip his creator five times in a day?

As to the pilgrimage to Mecca, and the ceremonies to be practiſed in the Kaaba, and on the black ſtone, almoſt every one knows that this had been a favourite piece of devotion among the Arabians for many ages. The Kaaba was held to be the moſt ancient temple in the world; and although no leſs than three hundred idols were helped therein at that time, the holineſs of the place was derived principally from the black ſtone, which was ſaid to have been the tomb-ſtone of Iſhmael. Therefore Mahomet, in order to ingratiate himſelf with his countrymen, made it a fundamental precept of his religion, to viſit this precious monument of antiquity at leaſt once in a perſon's life.

Faſting was a religious rite obſerved by almoſt every nation, particularly by the Jews and Chriſtians. Mahomet made it extremely ſtrict, by extending it to a whole

lunar month, or twenty-eight days, during which time it was not permitted to taſte even a drop of water, or to ſmoak till after ſun-ſet, and the lunar month frequently falling out in the midſt of ſummer, this ceremony was found ſo very ſevere, that they were at length obliged to mitigate it, eſpecially in time of war.

All religions recommend the giving of alms; the Mahometan is the only one that enjoins it as a lawful precept, that may not on any account be diſpenſed with. The Alcoran commands every one to ſet apart two and an half per cent. of their income for this purpoſe, either in money or goods.

In all the poſitive ordinances of Mahomet, we find nothing but what was founded on the moſt eſtabliſhed cuſtoms, and conſecrated by long antiquity. In the negative precepts, ſuch as thoſe which enjoin the abſtaining from any particular practice, that of not drinking wine is the only one that is new and peculiar to this religion. This prohibition, of which the Muſſulmans ſo much complain, and with the obſervance of which they frequently diſpenſe, eſpecially in cold climates, was given in a fiery climate, where the drinking of wine made men eaſily liable to the loſs of their health and reaſon. But furthermore, it was no new thing for perſons devoted to the ſervice of God, to abſtain from this liquor. Several ſocieties of prieſts in Egypt and Syria, and the Nazarenes and Rechabites among the Jews, did voluntarily impoſe this mortification on themſelves.

There was nothing in this injunction that could diſguſt the Arabians; and Mahomet could not poſſibly foreſee that it would one day become inſupportable to his followers in the frozen regions of Thrace, Macedonia, Boſnia, and Servia. He never imagined that his countrymen would one day penetrate into the heart of France, and Turks of his religion wave their colours on the ramparts of Vienna.

The ſame may be ſaid of the prohibition of eating pork, blood, or the fleſh of beaſts dying of any diſeaſe; theſe are precepts of health. The fleſh of ſwine in particular is a very unwholeſome food in thoſe hot countries, aswell as in the Paleſtine, that lies in their neighbourhood.

neighbourhood. When the Mahometan religion ſpread itſelf into colder climates, this abſtinence ceaſed to be reaſonable; but nevertheleſs did not ceaſe to be in force.

The prohibiting all games of chance, is perhaps the only law of which no example is to be found in any other religion. It reſembles the rule of a convent, rather than a general law to be obſerved by a whole nation. Mahomet ſeems to have formed a people only to pray, to get children, and to fight.

His laws, which were all (except that of polygamy) ſo ſevere, and the plainneſs and the ſimplicity of his doctrine, ſoon gained his religion reſpect and credit. And above all, the tenet of the unity, delivered without myſtery, and ſuited to the moſt ordinary capacity, brought a multitude of nations to embrace his faith, even from the negroes on the coaſt of Africa, and thoſe who inhabit the iſlands in the Indian ocean.

Ibidem.] This religion is called Iſlamiſm, which ſignifies reſignation to the will of God; and this appellation was of itſelf ſufficient to make a number of proſelytes; and we may obſerve that Iſlamiſm has not eſtabliſhed itſelf thoughout one half of our hemiſphere by dint of arms only, but by enthuſiaſm, the art of perſuaſion, and, above all, by the example of the conquerors themſelves, which always has the moſt powerful effect on the conquered. Mahomet, when he firſt took up arms in Arabia againſt his countrymen, who impoſed his impoſture, put to death, without mercy, all thoſe who would not embrace his religion. He was not at that time ſufficiently powerful to let thoſe live who might afterwards ſubvert his infant faith. But as ſoon as he became ſettled in Arabia, by dint of preaching and the ſword, his followers, when they made excurſions beyond their own country, which till then they had never quitted, did not compel the ſtrangers the con-

Id. page 42.] quered to become Muſſulmans, but left it to their option either to profeſs the Mahometan religion, or pay a tribute. They were deſirous of plunder, conqueſt, and making ſlaves; but not of obliging thoſe ſlaves to change their belief. When

they were at length driven out of Asia by the Turks and Tartars, they made proselytes even of their conquerors; and the wild herds of Tartars became a great Mahometan nation. By this we may see that they did in fact convert more people than they conquered.

The little I have here said is a downright contradiction to what has been advanced by a number of our historians and declaimers, and even to our own general received opinions; but nevertheless, the truth should prevail against error or prejudice, and ought never to be violated by those who write history. Although the Mussulman law-giver, who was a powerful and terrible conqueror, established his tenets by his courage, and the success of his arms; yet his religion became in time a religion of indulgence and toleration. On the other hand, the divine institution of christianity, who himself lived an example of humility and peace, taught us to pardon those who had offended us; and yet we see his holy religion has, by the mad zeal of its followers, become the most insupportable of any.

The Mahometans, like us, have had their sects and scholastic disputes; but there is no truth in what is pretended of their having seventy-three different sects amongst them. This is an idle story. They pretended that the Magi had seventy; the Jews seventy one; the Christians seventy-two; and that the Mussulmans, as being the most perfect believers, must necessarily have seventy-three. A strange kind of perfection, and truly worthy the imagination of the schoolmen of all countries.

The different explanations of the Alcoran among the Mahometans gave rise to two principal sects, called the Orthodox and the Heretic. The Orthodox were the Sonnites, that is to say, the traditionists, or those doctors who were attached to the most ancient tradition, which which serves as a supplement to the Alcoran. These are again divided into four sects, one of which still prevails in Constantinople; the other in Africa; the third in Arabia; and the fourth in Tartary and Arabia; and are all looked upon as equally necessary to salvation.

The

The Heretics are thoſe who deny the doctrine of abſolute predeſtination, or who differ from the Sonnites in ſome points in the ſchools. Mahometaniſm has had its Pelagians, its Scotiſts, its Thomiſts, its Moliniſts, and its Janſeniſts. But yet all theſe ſects have not produced more revolutions than amongſt us. For a ſect to occaſion any great commotions in a ſtate, it muſt attack the foundations of the prevailing ſect, accuſe it of impiety, and of being an enemy to God and men; and muſt ſet up a certain ſtandard of oppoſition that may eaſily be perceived and underſtood by the common people, and under which they may, without much inquiry, raiſe themſelves. Such was the ſect of Haly, which ſet itſelf up for a rival to that of Omar; but this grand ſchiſm was not eſtabliſhed till about the ſixth century, and reaſons of ſtate had a much greater ſhare in this revolution than thoſe of religion.

OF CHRISTIANITY.

Vol. I. chap. v. UNDER Diocleſian the Chriſtians did not only enjoy that liberty of conſcience, and free exerciſe of their religion, in which the Roman ſtate always indulged all its ſubjects; but they likewiſe were admitted to a ſhare in the rights and privileges of Roman citizens. Several Chriſtians were governors of provinces; and Euſebius mentions two by name, viz. Dorotheus and Gorgonius, who were officers of the palace, and on whom Diocleſian beſtowed many favours. Therefore whatever our pulpit orators have ſaid or written againſt this emperor, is the effect of ignorance. So far from being a perſecutor of the Chriſtians, he raiſed them to ſuch a pitch of power, that it was no longer in his power to ſuppreſs them.

Id. page 49.

OF

OF THE POPES.

Vol. I. chap. vi. THERE are but three ways of bringing mankind under ſubjection, namely, by civilizing them; by giving them certain laws and regulations for their obſervance; by employing religion in ſupport of theſe laws; and laſtly, by knocking one half of the nation on the head, in order to govern the other half with the more eaſe. I do not know of a fourth; and all theſe three require a chain of favourable circumſtances. We muſt go back to the earlieſt ages of antiquity to find inſtances of the firſt; and theſe are very doubtful. Charlemagne, Clovis, Theodoric, Albouin, and Alaric, made uſe of the laſt; and the ſecond has been adopted by the popes.

Id. page 60.] The pope had originally no other power in Rome, than St. Auguſtin would have had in the little town of Hippona. And even ſuppoſing St. Peter himſelf to have lived in Rome, as is pretended, becauſe one of his epiſtles is dated from Babylon, nay even had he been biſhop of Rome, at a time when there was certainly no particular ſee exiſting, his reſidence in Rome would not have given him any title to the throne of the Cæſars; and we have ſeen that the biſhops of Rome, for the ſpace of ſeven hundred years, looked upon themſelves in no other light than that of ſervants.

OF THE ANOINTING OF KING PEPIN.

Idem, page 61. THIS was an imitation of an ancient Jewiſh ceremony. Samuel poured oil on the head of Saul. The kings of Lombardy were thus conſecrated; and even the dukes of Benevento have adopted this cuſtom. Oil was uſed in the inſtalating of biſhops; and they thought to ſtamp a kind of religious character on the temporal crown, by annexing to it an eccleſiaſtical ceremony. A king of the Goths,

Goths, named Vamba, was anointed in Spain with the holy oil, in the year 674. But when the Moors became maſters of that country, they ſoon made this ceremony forgotten, and the Spaniards have not revived it ſince.

Pepin therefore was not the firſt anointed ſovereign in Europe, as we read of every day. He had already received this holy unction from the hands of the Engliſh monk Boniface, who was a miſſionary in Germany, and biſhop of Mentz; and who having been a long time on his travels in Lombardy, conſecrated him after the faſhion of that country.

Let us not forget to obſerve in this place, that this Boniface had been created biſhop of Mentz, by Carloman, brother to the uſurper Pepin, without the concurrence of the Pope; nor had the court of Rome any influence or intervention at that time in the nominating to biſhoprics in the kingdom of the French. Nothing can be a more convincing proof, that all laws, both civil and eccleſiaſtical, are dictated by conveniency, maintained by force, deſtroyed by want of power, and changed by time. The biſhops of Rome pretended to abſolute authority, but had it not. The popes, when under the yoke of the Lombard kings, would have made over all their eccleſiaſtical authority in France, to the firſt perſon of that nation, who would have delivered them from the yoke they groaned under in Italy.

Pope Stephen ſtood in greater need of the aſſiſtance of Pepin, than this latter did of him, as appears plainly by the prieſt's imploring the protection of the warrior. The new king cauſed himſelf to be again anointed by the biſhop of Rome, in the church of St. Denis in France. This fact appears ſomewhat ſingular; for it is not cuſtomary to be crowned twice, when the firſt ceremony is thought to be ſufficient. It ſhould appear then, that in the opinion of the common people, there was ſomething more ſacred and authentic in the perſon of a biſhop of Rome, than in that of a German biſhop; that the monks of St. Denis, in whoſe church this ſecond anointing was performed, affixed an idea of greater efficacy to the oil poured over the head of a Frank

by

by a Roman prelate, than to that poured by the hands of a miſſionary of Mentz; and laſtly, that the ſucceſſor of St. Peter had a ſuperior power to any other, to make an uſurpation lawful.

Pepin was the firſt king anointed in France; and the only one that ever was ſo by a Roman pontiff. Clovis was neither crowned nor anointed king by biſhop Remi; and he had reigned ſome years before he was baptized. Had he ever received the ſacred unction, his ſucceſſors would undoubtedly have kept up ſo ſolemn a ceremony, which ſoon afterwards became neceſſary. No monarch had been anointed before Pepin, who received the ſacred unction in the abbey-church of St. Denis.

It was not till three hundred years after the reign of Clovis, that Hincmar, archbiſhop of Rheims, declared in his writings, that a pigeon had brought from heaven a phial called the holy ampulla. Perhaps the good prelate thought by this ſtory to give a religious ſanction to the right of anointing kings, which the Metropolitans then began to exerciſe. This right, however, was eſtabliſhed only by length of time, like all other cuſtoms; and theſe prelates did a conſiderable time afterwards perform this ceremony on all the kings from Philip I. to Henry IV. who was crowned at Chartres, and anointed with the Ampulla of St. Martin; the Leaguers being at that time in poſſeſſion of the Ampulla of St. Remi.

It is true, theſe ceremonies add nothing to the right of kings; but they ſeem to encreaſe the veneration of the people.

It is not to be doubted that this ceremony of anointing, as well as the cuſtom of carrying the kings of the Francs, Goths and Lombards, on a ſhield, came originally from Conſtantinople. The emperor Cantacuſenes tells us himſelf, that it was a practice from time immemorial, for the emperors to be carried on a ſhield, upon the ſhoulders of the patriarch and principal officers of the empire; after which the emperor quitting his throne, went up to a deſk in the church, where the patriarch made the ſign of the croſs on his head, with a feather dipt in oil, which had been conſecrated for the purpoſe.

purpoſe. The crown was then placed on the head of the new Cæſar, by a chief officer of ſtate, or a prince of the Imperial family. The patriarch and people crying out, *He is worthy*. But at the anointing of the ſovereign of the weſt, the biſhop addreſſed himſelf to the people, ſaying, "Will you accept this perſon for your "king?" And then the new monarch made an oath to his people, after having taken it in the firſt place to the biſhops.

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See note, page 60.] All the events of theſe times were a continued chain of injuſtice, rapine and impoſture. An head-ſervant of Childeric III. king of France, depoſed his maſter, and confined him in the convent of St. Bertin; kept the ſon of his ſovereign a priſoner in the convent of Normandy; and a pope comes from Rome to ſanctify theſe rebellious proceedings.

OF THE PAPAL POWER.

Idem, page 61, 62, 63. THE Franks, after having conquered the Gauls, were deſirous of ſubduing Italy likewiſe; the dominion of this country had always been the favourite object of all the barbarous nations, not that Italy was in itſelf a better country than Gaul, but it was at that time better cultivated; the towns and cities, which had been built, beautified, or enlarged by the Romans, where ſtill in a good condition; and the fruitfulneſs of Italy had always been a ſtrong temptation for a reſtleſs, poor, and warlike people. If Pepin could have made the conqueſt of Lombardy, as Charlemagne did, he undoubtedly would have done it; and if he did conclude a treaty with Aſtolphus, it was owing to the exigency of circumſtances, he not being ſufficiently eſtabliſhed on the throne of France, which he had lately uſurped, having the dukes of Aquitaine and Gaſcony to contend with, whoſe rights to thoſe countries were much better than thoſe of Pepin to the kingdom of France. How then could he have beſtowed

beſtowed ſo many lands on the popes, when he was forced to return back to France to ſupport his uſurpation there?

Obſerve the different degrees through which the pontifical power has paſſed. The firſt biſhops of Rome were indigent and obſcure perſons, who preached the word to others as poor as themſelves in cells and caverns in Rome. In the ſpace of two centuries we find them at the head of a conſiderable flock; under Conſtantine they are rich and reſpected; they become patriarchs of the weſt, they acquire immenſe poſſeſſions in lands and money, and at length grew to be powerful ſovereigns, and thus have almoſt all things deviated from their firſt origin. Were the ancient founders of the Roman, and Chineſe empires, and that of the caliphs, to riſe again to life, they would behold their thrones filled by Goths, Turks, and Tartars.

OF CHARLEMAGNE.

Vol. I. ch. viii.—xi. THE great reſpect of Charlemagne is one of the ſtrongeſt proofs that ſucceſs ſanctifies injuſtice, and confers glory. His father Pepin, at his death, divided his dominions between his two ſons Carloman and Charles. This will was ratified in an aſſembly of the nation. Carloman had for his portion Provence, Languedoc, Burgundy, Swiſſerland and Alſace; Charles had all the reſt for his ſhare. The two brothers always lived at variance with each other. Carloman died ſuddenly, leaving a widow and two children very young. Charles immediately ſeized upon their patrimony, and their mother was obliged to fly with her children for refuge to the court of Deſiderius king of the Lombards, whom we call Dedier. This Dedier was a natural enemy to the Francs, and the father-in-law to Charlemagne had as great an hatred to him, becauſe he feared him. It is certain that Charlemagne had no greater

greater regard to the law of nature, and the ties of blood, than other conquerors.

Charles ſent ſeveral colonies of Francs to ſettle in the territories he had conquered. We have no inſtance of any prince thus tranſporting his ſubjects without their conſent. You may have obſerved great emigrations, but no one ſovereign who thus eſtabliſhed colonies after the old Roman method. It is a ſtrong proof of the policy and ſtretch of deſpotic power, to oblige men to quit the place of their nativity.

Chap. ix. page 75.] Deſiderius was obliged to deliver the ſiſter-in-law of Charles and her children into the hands of the conqueror. Hiſtory does not inform us, whether they were ſhut up in a cloiſter, as well as their protector, or if they were put to death.

Id. page 78, and chap. xv. page 120.] It was the cuſtom of the ſenate of Rome to write to the emperor, or the exarch of Ravenna, when there was one, "We "humbly pray that you will order the conſecration of "our father and paſtor." The metropolitan of Ravenna likewiſe came in for his ſhare of the compliment. The pope elect was obliged to pronounce two confeſſions of faith. How different from the authority of the tiara! but where is that greatneſs which may not be traced back to as low a beginning?

Id. page 81, 82.] This man, who ſhed ſuch a torrent of blood, robbed his nephews of their patrimony, and was ſuſpected of inceſt, has, by the church of Rome, been ranked among the number of her ſaints.

MANNERS

MANNERS AND CUSTOMS IN THE TIME OF CHARLEMAGNE.

Vol. I. chap. x. xi. A Young barbarian, named Chram, makes war upon his own father Clotharius, regent of one part of Gaul. The father cauſes his ſon to be burnt, together with all his friends and accomplices who had been made priſoners. This happened in the year 559.

Europe was for ſo many ages like a ſtrayed and timorous hind, devoured by hungry wolves and tygers in the midſt of a deſert.

Biſhops had no ſhare in the government till the reign of Pipin or Pepin, father of Charles Martel, and grandfather to the other Pepin, who made himſelf king; neither had they a ſeat in the aſſemblies of the French nation. They were all either Gauls or Italians, people conſidered as vaſſals; and tho' biſhop Remi, the ſame who baptiſed Clovis, wrote to king Sicambrus the famous letter in which is the following expreſſion: "Be ſure you do not "take the upper hand of the biſhops, follow their "councils, for ſo long as you act in concert with "them, your adminiſtration will be ſmooth and eaſy:" Nevertheleſs, neither Clovis nor his ſucceſſors made the clergy one of the orders of the ſtate; and indeed the government was then altogether military, and cannot be more aptly compared than to the ſtates of Algiers and Tunis, which are governed by a chief and a militia.

Page 95.] But when the majordomos, or mayors of this militia, inſenſibly uſurped the ſupreme power, they endeavoured to ſtrengthen their authority by the credit of the prelates and abbots, by calling them to the aſſemblies in the *Champs de mai*.

According to the annals of Metz, it was in the year 692, that mayor Pepin, the firſt of the name, procured this

this prerogative for the clergy; an æra which has been very negligently paſſed over by moſt hiſtorians, but which is very conſiderable, and deſerving of notice, as it laid the firſt foundation of the temporal power of the biſhops and abbots in France and Germany.

YOU aſk whether Charlemagne, his predeceſſors or ſucceſſors, were deſpotic? and if their kingdom was ſecured to them by right of inheritance in thoſe times? It is certain that Charlemagne was deſpotic in fact, and conſequently that his kingdom was hereditary, ſeeing that he declared his ſon emperor in full aſſembly of the ſtates of the nation. The right is rather more doubtful than the fact. The rights of thoſe times had the following foundation:

The inhabitants of the north and of Germany were originally a nation of hunters, and the Gauls, who were conquered by the Romans, were either huſbandmen or burghers; now a people who always went ready armed for the chace, would naturally get the better of, and ſubject a ſet of clowns and ſhepherds, who were always employed in drudgery and labour; and ſtill more eaſily of the quiet citizens, who dwelt in unarmed ſecurity by their fire-ſides. Thus the Tartars over-ran Aſia, and the Goths marched to the very gates of Rome. All the hords of Tartars, Goths, Huns, Vandals and Franks, were governed by chiefs. Theſe wandering chiefs were choſen by plurality of voices, and it could not be otherwiſe, for what right could a thief have to lord it over his fellow-robbers? The moſt dexterous, bold and fortunate ſpoiler, muſt at length gain the ſovereignty over thoſe who did not poſſeſs thoſe qualifications, ſo effectual to a life of rapine and plunder, in as high a degree as himſelf. They all ſhared equally in the booty, and this was a law that had ſubſiſted in all times among every tribe of conquerors. If we would have a proof of the antiquity of this law, we need only turn to the ſtory of the Franc, who would not ſuffer Clovis to take a ſilver cup belonging to the church of Rheims from the booty, and who cut the veſſel

veſſel in pieces with his battle-ax, without the chief daring to oppoſe him.

Clovis became deſpotic in proportion as he became powerful This is the uſual progreſs of human nature. It was the ſame with Charlemagne; he was the ſon of an uſurper. The ſon of the lawful prince was ſhaven and condemned to ſay his breviary in a cloiſter in Normandy; Charlemagne was therefore obliged to obſerve the greateſt precautions before a nation of warriors aſſembled in parliament. "We will ye to know," ſays he in one of his capitularies, "that in conſidera-" tion of our humility, and the readineſs with which " we obſerve your advice, out of the fear of God; " that ye, on your parts, take care to maintain the dig-" nity which God hath beſtowed on us, in like man-" ner as your anceſtors acted with regard to ours."

His only anceſtor, however, was his father, who had uſurped the kingdom, and he himſelf had robbed his nephews of their birth-right. He flattered the great men while aſſembled in parliament; but that parliament once diſſolved, woe to him who dared to contradict his will.

As to the ſucceſſion, it was natural for the chief of a conquering people to endeavour to gain their ſuffrages, in favour of his own ſon, to ſucceed him. This cuſtom of conferring the ſucceſſion by election, became in time the moſt legal and inviolable of any, and ſtill continues in force in the German empire; and the right of election was deemed to belong ſo peculiarly to the conquering people, that when Pepin uſurped the kingdom of the Francs, to whoſe king he had only been a domeſtic ſervant, pope Stephen II. who was in the uſurper's intereſt, forbad the French, on pain of excommunication, to elect for their king a deſcendent of any other race. This excommunication was indeed as ſtriking an example of ſuperſtition, as Pepin's undertaking was of boldneſs; but this very ſuperſtition is a proof of the right of election, and ſhews that the conquering nation could chooſe from among the deſcendents of its chief, the perſon who wasmoſt agreeable to it. The pope does not ſay,

Vol. I. chap. vi. page 59.

ſay, You ſhall not chooſe for your king any other than the firſt-born of the houſe of Pepin, but You ſhall not chooſe any but one of his family.

Charlemagne ſays in one of his capitularies, "If of "one of the three princes, my ſons, there ſhould be "born a male child, whom it ſhall pleaſe the nation to "call to the ſucceſſion after his father, I will that his "uncles do not oppoſe ſuch ſucceſſion." It is evident by this title, and a multitude of others, that the French nation had, at leaſt in appearance, a right of election. This cuſtom was originally that of all nations: we find it eſtabliſhed among the Jews, the other Aſiatic nations, and the Romans. The firſt ſucceſſors of Mahomet were elected; the ſultans of Egypt, and the firſt Miramolins held their power by no other tenure, and it is only by length of time that a kingdom becomes entirely hereditary; valour, addreſs, and neceſſity, are the only laws.

OF RELIGION IN THE TIME OF CHARLEMAGNE.

Vol. I. chap. xii. page 94.

THE books called Carolins were written in a Latin tolerably pure, which ſhews that Charlemagne had ſucceeded in reſtoring literature; but, at the ſame time, they furniſh an inconteſtible proof that there were never any theological diſputes carried on without invectives on both ſides. The very title of theſe books is itſelf an invective. "In the name of our Lord and Saviour "Jeſus Chriſt, begins the book of the moſt illuſtrious "and excellent prince Charles, &c. againſt the abſurd "and audacious ſymbol held by the Greeks for the "adoration of images" The title of this book makes king Charles to have been its author, in the ſame manner as public edicts are iſſued under the name of the reigning prince, tho' he may have no hand in forming them. It is certain that all the ſubjects of Charlemagne looked upon the Grecks as idolaters.

Id.

Id. page 97.] The diſpute touching the Holy Ghoſt, which time and the erudition of the clergy afterwards cleared up, was then in a ſtate of obſcurity. Several paſſages were quoted from the fathers, and particularly from St. Gregory of Nice, where it is ſaid, that "one of the three perſons is the *cauſe*, and the "other comes from the *cauſe*. One proceeds immediately from the firſt, and the other proceeds from "him alſo, but by the means of the Son, by which "means the Son reſerves to himſelf the property of "unity, without excluding the Holy Ghoſt from a relation to the Father."

Theſe authorities did not at that time appear ſufficiently demonſtrative, and therefore pope Adrian II. did not come to a deciſion. That pontiff was very ſenſible that one may be a ſound Chriſtian without being able to penetrate theſe profound myſteries.

Id. page 99.] In the firſt age of the church it was believed, that the world was near its end. This belief was founded on a paſſage in St. Luke, where theſe words are put into the mouth of our Saviour; "There "ſhall be ſigns in the ſun and in the moon, and in the "ſtars, and upon the earth; diſtreſs of nations, with "perplexity; the ſea and waves roaring; mens hearts "failing them for fear of thoſe things which are coming "on the earth; for the powers of heaven ſhall be ſhaken, and then they ſhall ſee the Son of Man coming "in a cloud, with power and great glory: and when "ye ſee theſe things come to paſs, know ye that the "kingdom of God is nigh at hand. Verily, I ſay unto "you, this generation ſhall not paſs away till all be fulfilled."

Several pious perſons, who took this prediction according to the letter, which, ſay the commentators, regard Jeruſalem only, thought that the world was on the point of being deſtroyed, and expected the approach of the laſt day, when Jeſus Chriſt was to come in the clouds. Hence aroſe thoſe numberleſs imaginary wonders that were beheld in the heavens.

Id.

Id. page 100.] One would imagine that the preciſe date of the eſtabliſhment of our church-rites ſhould be known, and yet we are quite in the dark concerning this period. We do not know, for inſtance, at what time the maſs, as now celebrated, firſt came into uſe. We are ignorant of the true origin of baptiſm by aſperſion or ſprinkling, of auricular confeſſion, and of communicating with unleavened bread, and with bread only without wine; neither do we know who firſt gave the name of ſacrament to marriage, confirmation, and extreme unction, or the anointing perſons at the point of death.

Id. page 101.] Auricular confeſſion was not received ſo late as the eighth and ninth centuries in the countries beyond the Loire, in Languedoc and the Alps. Alwin complains of this in his letters. The inhabitants of thoſe countries appear to have always had an inclination to abide by the cuſtoms of the primitive church, and to reject the tenets and cuſtoms which the church in its more flouriſhing ſtate judged convenient to adopt.

Id. page 103.] The weakneſs of the ſex was ſometimes the cauſe that women ſtood more in awe of their confeſſors than of their huſbands. Almoſt all thoſe who were confeſſors to queens availed themſelves of that private and ſacred empire they had over their penitents, to wriggle themſelves into ſtate-affairs; and when once a monk had gotten the aſcendent over the mind of his ſovereign, the reſt of the fraternity took the advantage of it, and many of them made uſe of the credit of the confeſſor to wreak revenge on their enemies.

Id. page 105.] Idolatry, or the religion of image worſhippers, muſt certainly conſiſt in attributing a divine power and efficacy to images, or the repreſentation of ſome particular perſon or thing; therefore this could not be the religion of the Scandinavians, becauſe they had neither painter nor ſculptor amongſt them.

Of

Of the PURGATIONS or TRIALS.

Vol. I. chap. xiii. page 107, 108, 109. YOU would know if theſe cuſtoms were firſt eſtabliſhed by the Greek or the Latin church? We find examples of theſe trials at Conſtantinople as late as the thirteenth century, and Pachemire declares he was an eye-witneſs of it; it is probable, therefore, that the Latins received theſe oriental ſuperſtitions from the Greeks.

STATE OF EUROPE

After the Death of LEWIS the DEBONNAIRE.

Vol. I. chap. xv. page 120. THE fate of the world always depends on the intereſts of princes: a Frank and a Salian founded the kingdom of France. The ſon of Pepin, a mayor or majordomo of the palace, held the empire of the Francs, which was ever divided by the quarrels of three brothers. Theſe unnatural children, Lotharius, Lewis of Bavaria, and Charles the Bald, after ſpilling a deluge of blood at Fontenoy, at length diſmembered the empire of their father Charlemagne by the famous peace of Verdun, by which Charles the Bald had France; Lotharius Italy, Provence, Dauphiny, Languedoc, Swiſſerland, Lorraine, Alſace and Flanders; and Lewis of Bavaria, or the Germanic, had Germany.

It is from this epocha that the moſt learned hiſtorians begin to give the name of French to the Francs. From this time Germany may date her private, as well as public laws; and this was the origin of the hatred between the Germans and the French. Each of the three brothers was diſturbed in the enjoyment of his portion by eccleſiaſtical diſputes, and thoſe diviſions and bickerings which always ariſe between parties who have been compelled to make peace againſt their wills.

Id. page 161.] In the midſt of theſe diſcords and diſſentions, Charles the Bald, the firſt ſole king of France,

France, and Lewis of Bavaria, the firſt ſole king of Germany, called a council againſt Lotharius, and this Lotharius I. is emperor, though ſtripped of his dominions in France and Germany.

Of the NORMANS.

Vol. I. chap. xvi. page 127.

THE invention of battering rams to make a breach in walls, is of as ancient a date as walls themſelves, for mankind are as induſtrious to deſtroy as to raiſe up. And here I muſt beg leave to ſtep aſide from my ſubject for a moment to obſerve, that the Trojan horſe was abſolutely the very ſame kind of engine, to which was fixed an horſe's head of braſs, in like manner as was afterwards that of a ram's. This we are told by Pauſanias in his deſcription of Greece.

Of SPAIN and the MOORS.

Vol. I. chap. xviii.

YOU have ſeen ſtates unfortunate and badly governed; but Spain, whoſe portrait we muſt now exhibit, did, for a long time, ſuffer the moſt deplorable calamities. The Barbarians who over-ran the greateſt part of Europe in the beginning of the 5th century, laid waſte this country as well as they had done others: But how happened it that Spain, who defended herſelf ſo bravely againſt the incurſion of the Romans, fell ſo ſuddenly a prey to the Barbarians? The reaſon was this: At the time ſhe was attacked by the Roman arms, ſhe abounded in patriots, but when once ſubjected by that republic, her people became ſlaves, ill treated by effeminate maſters, and ſhe ſoon fell a prey to the Suevi, the Goths, and the Vandals. After theſe latter came the Viſigoths, who now began to ſettle themſelves in Acquitain and Catalonia, while the Oſtrogoths were ſubverting the Roman empire in Italy. Theſe Oſtrogoths and Viſigoths were, as we know, outwardly Chriſtians, but not of the Roman church, nor that of the eaſtern emperors, who reigned at that time, but of the communion which

had been long received by the Greek church, and which believed in Jeſus, but without admitting his equality with the Father. The Spaniards, on the contrary, were attached to the rites of the Roman church. Thus the conquerors and the conquered were of different faiths, which contributed to render the yoke of the latter more heavy. The dioceſes were divided between Arian and Athanaſian biſhops, as in Italy; a diviſion which ſtill added to the ſuffering of the nation. The Viſigoth kings wanted to do the ſame in Spain, as we have ſeen done ſince in Italy by the Lombard king Lotharius, and which Conſtantine did at his acceſſion to the throne of the empire, that is, to unite by a liberty of conſcience people who were divided by their particular tenets.

Lovegildus, king of the Viſigoths, was deſirous of uniting thoſe who were the advocates for conſubſtantiability, and thoſe who were againſt it. His ſon Hermigeld rebelled againſt him. There was at that time a petty king of the Suevi who was in poſſeſſion of the country of Galicia, and ſome places in its neighbourhood. The rebellious Hermigeld made an alliance with this prince, and for a long time carried on the war againſt his father. At length, after refuſing all invitations to return to his duty, he was defeated and taken priſoner in Cordova, where he was killed by one of his father's officers. The church of Rome has canonized him, regarding only that he fought for her religion, without conſidering that he made that religion a pretext for an unnatural rebellion againſt his father.

This memorable event happened in the year 584, and I relate it only as one of the many inſtances of the deplorable ſtate to which Spain was then reduced.

The kingdom of the Viſigoths was not hereditary. The biſhops, who had then the ſame authority in Spain which they acquired in France under the Carlovingian race, raiſed up and depoſed princes, and the leading men of the ſtate, at their pleaſure. This was another ſource of continual diſturbances; for example, they elected the baſtard Liuva, to the prejudice of his brothers born in lawful wedlock: and this Liuva having been

been assassinated by a Gothic captain, named Witteric, they chose this Witteric to succeed him.

Wamba, one of the best of their kings, and of whom we have already spoken, having fallen sick, was clad in sackcloth, and submitted to do public penance by the advice of the priest, as the only method of obtaining a cure: he received his cure, but afterwards was declared incapable of exercising the kingly office, having done penance, and was shut up for seven days in a monastery. This precedent was quoted in France at the deposition of Louis the Feeble.

The first Gothic conquerors, who subjected Spain, did not suffer themselves to be treated in this manner. They founded an empire which extended from Provence and Languedoc in Europe, to Ceuta and Tangiers in Africa; but this empire being badly governed, soon fell to ruin. There were so many rebellions in Spain, that at length king Wilika disarmed his subjects, and dismantled several towns. In so doing he compelled them to obedience, but deprived himself of their assistance. In order to gain the clergy on his side, he convoked an assembly of the nation, and made an edict, by which bishops and priests were permitted to marry.

Id. page 140. and Note.

Id. page 143] The conquerors of Xeres did not make an ill use of the success of their arms. They left the conquered the full enjoyment of their possessions, laws, and worship, contenting themselves with a tribute, and the honour of being masters; and not only the widow of king Roderic espoused young Abdalis; but after her example the Moors and Spaniards frequently mingled bloods. The latter, who had been scrupulously attached to their religion, quitted it in great numbers, in order to take the title of Mosarabians, which signified half Arabians, instead of that of Visigoths, which their nation till then had borne. This name Mosarabian had nothing in it mortifying to the vanquished, as the Arabians were the most gentle of all conquerors, and brought with them into Spain new arts and sciences.

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The title of Don is an abridgment of *Dominus*, a title which the Roman emperor Auguſtus thought too ambitious, becauſe it ſignified maſter. It was afterwards given to the Benedictine monks, then to the noblemen of Spain, and laſtly to the king of that country. The lords of fiefs then firſt began to aſſume the title of *ricos hombres* (i. e. *rich men*) rich ſignifying he who had great poſſeſſion in land, the only wealth the Spaniards had at that time. The dignity of grandeee was not then known, and the title of great was not in uſe till three centuries afterwards, in the reign of Alphonſo, tenth of the name, king of Caſtille, at which time Spain began to be in a flouriſhing condition.

OF THE GREEK EMPIRE.

Vol. I. chap. xix. page 146. BASILIUS, who murdered the emperor Michael the Young, is the ſame who was thought juſt when he depoſed the patriarch Photius.

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Id. 147.] Did not the Swizzers ſet fire to their villages and hamlets, in order to remove into Languedoc, when Cæſar compelled them to return and till their grounds? And what were Pharamond and Clovis but barbarians who had tranſplanted themſelves, and did not meet with a Cæſar?

OF PHOTIUS, &c.

Vol. I. chap. xxi. page 157, &c. THE Greek church accuſed us of refuſing to learn the catechiſm, that we might not be Chriſtians.

A MONK whipped for the SAVING GRACE.

Idem, page 162. IN the year 814 a Benedictine monk, whoſe name was John Godeſcald, having raiſed ſome trifling conteſt concerning predeſtination and grace, the event proved how dangerous

dangerous it is to meddle with theſe matters, and eſpecially to diſpute againſt a powerful antagoniſt. The ſame monk, having taken certain expreſſions of St. Paul and St. Auguſtine in too literal a ſenſe, thought proper to preach up the abſolute and eternal predeſtination of a few elect, and a great number of damned. Hincmar, archbiſhop of Rheims, a man as violent in church-matters, as in thoſe of ſtate, ſent for this monk, and told him that he was predeſtinated to be tried, condemned, and whipped; and accordingly he was excommunicated in one of the leſſer councils, held in the year 850, and then ſtripped naked in the preſence of the emperor Charles the Bald, and flogged by monks from his ſhoulders to his legs.

This trifling conteſt, in which both parties were equally in the wrong, has been but too much revived. In Holland you will find the ſynod of Dordrecht, which conſiſted of perſons who favoured the doctrine of Godeſcald, treating thoſe of Hincmar's ſect there worſe than with a ſimple flogging. Again, in France, you will find the Jeſuits of Hincmar's party perſecuting to the utmoſt of their power the Janſeniſts, who were attached to the tenets of Godeſcald. Theſe diſputes will end only when the number of philoſophers ſhall exceed that of teachers.

OF THE EMPEROR OTHO.

Vol. I. chap. xxvi. page 174. HOW could the emperor Otho, by an act, confirming one made before by Charlemagne, beſtow the ſovereignty of Rome, which Charlemagne himſelf never beſtowed? How could he make a preſent of the duchy of Beneventum, of which he was not in poſſeſſion, and which at that time belonged to its own duke? How could he give away Corſica and Sicily, when thoſe iſlands were occupied by the Saracens? Either Otho muſt have been greatly deceived, or this act is ſpurious.

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Vol. I. chap. xxv. page 174.] The imprudence of John XII. in inviting the Germans to Rome, proved

the ſource of all thoſe troubles which Rome and Italy afterwards experienced.

Of OTHO II. and III. and of ROME.

Vol. I. chap. xxvii. NEVER was Rome and the Latin church held in a more contemptible light at Conſtantinople than in theſe unhappy times. Leutprandus, ambaſſador from the emperor Otho I. to the emperor Nicephorus Phocas, tells us that the inhabitants of Rome were not called Romans, but Lombards, throughout the Imperial city, and the biſhops of Rome were looked upon only as a ſchiſmatic banditti. St. Peter's having dwelt at Rome, was conſidered as an abſurd fable, founded wholly on an expreſſion of that apoſtle in one of his epiſtles, where he ſays he had been at Babylon, which had been interpreted to mean Rome. The Saxon emperors were alſo held in as low eſteem at Conſtantinople, being looked upon as a ſet of barbarians.

And yet the court of Conſtantinople itſelf was very little ſuperior to that of the German emperors; but there were more trade, induſtry, and riches, in the Greek empire than in the Latin, for every thing had fallen to decay in the weſt ſince the glorious days of Charlemagne. Brutality, debauchery, anarchy and poverty, prevailed in every ſtate, and ignorance ſeemed to lord it with univerſal ſway, and yet we do not hear of a greater number of miracles in theſe days than in other times. Every age has had them, and it is only ſince the eſtabliſhing academies of arts and ſciences in Europe, and the people are become more enlightened, that we no longer meet with them; or if, by chance, ſome do now and then make their appearance, ſound natural philoſophy ſoon reduces them to their real value.

HENRY

HENRY I. of FRANCE, marries a RUSSIAN PRINCESS.

Vol. I. chap. xxix. page 187.

WE do not know whether that Ruſſia, from which this princeſs came, was Black, Red, or White Ruſſia; whether this princeſs was born a Pagan, a Chriſtian, or a Greek; whether ſhe changed her religion when ſhe was married to the king of France; nor how in thoſe days, when all communication between the different nations and kingdoms of Europe was ſo very rare, the king of France came acquainted with a princeſs of the country of the ancient Scythians; nor yet who propoſed this ſtrange match.

Of the STATE of FRANCE In the Tenth and Eleventh Centuries.

Idem, page 188.

IN general, if we compare theſe two centuries with the preſent one, human nature will appear to have been then in its infancy, in every thing that reſpected government, religion, commerce, the arts and ſciences, and the rights of the people.

It was in particular aſtoniſhing to behold the abject and ſcandalous ſtate of the church of Rome, and the power ſhe had over all minds in the midſt of her humiliation; the crowd of different popes created by the emperors; the ſlaviſh condition of thoſe pontiffs; their exorbitant power when they became maſters; and the great abuſe they made of that power. Silveſter II. who was the ſame Gerbert, who made

Id. p. 189.

ſuch a noiſe on account of his learning in the tenth century, and was even thought to be a magician, becauſe he had learned a little arithmetic and ſome few elements of Geometry from an Arabian: This man, I ſay, who had been preceptor to Otho III. was driven from his archbiſhopric of Rheims, by king Robert, and afterwards created pope by Otho III. is ſtill reputed to have been a man of letters, and a

wife pope. And yet Adhemar Chabanois, his cotemporary and admirer, tells us the following ſtory of him in his chronicle.

Guy, viſcount of Limoges, a French nobleman, had ſome diſpute with Grimoad, biſhop of Angoulême, touching certain rights belonging to the abbey of Brantome. The biſhop excommunicates the viſcount; and this latter impriſons the biſhop. Such violent proceedings were but too common all over Europe, where force held the place of law.

So great was the reverence paid to the ſee of Rome in theſe times of general anarchy, that the biſhop (after being releaſed from his confinement) and the viſcount both went from France, to plead their cauſe before pope Silveſter II. in full conſiſtory. When, who would believe it! the viſcount was ſentenced to be drawn aſunder by four horſes; which ſentence would moſt certainly have been executed upon him, had he not found means to make his eſcape. The outrages committed by this nobleman, in cauſing a biſhop to be impriſoned who was not his ſubject; the penitence he expreſſed for the ſame; his ſubmiſſion to the authority of the Roman pontiff; and the ſentence equally abſurd and inhuman of the conſiſtory, altogether form a moſt lively portrait of the character of thoſe brutal and uncivilized times.

The CONQUEST of ENGLAND by WILLIAM DUKE of NORMANDY.

Vol. I. chap. xxxii. page 203.

THE monks tell us, that Edward was the firſt king in Europe who had the gift of curing the king's evil. He had already reſtored ſight to ſeven or eight blind perſons; when a poor woman who was attacked with an obſtruction, applied to him for relief, and he cured her inſtantly by touching her, and making the ſign of the croſs; ſo that from a ſtate of barrenneſs, ſhe afterwards became the mother of children. The kings of England ever afterwards arrogated this healing power to themſelves; they did not indeed pretend to make

make the barren fruitful, or to reſtore ſight to the blind; but to touch for the king's evil, which they frequently did without curing them.

St. Lewis, king of France, as lord paramount over the kings of England, touched likewiſe for the king's evil; and his ſucceſſors preſerved the ſame right. William III. of England neglected it; and the time will come, when reaſon having made a little more progreſs in France, will totally aboliſh this cuſtom there.

Id. page 204.] The cuſtom of keeping a number of concubines, authoriſed throughout all the eaſt, and by the Jewiſh law, was prohibited in the goſpel diſpenſation. Nevertheleſs, general practice ſtill gave a ſanction to it; and ſo far was it from being conſidered as a matter of ſhame, that William the Conqueror frequently uſed to ſign *William the Baſtard*. There is ſtill a letter of his extant, written to Allen, count of Brittany, with this ſignature. Baſtards frequently ſhared in the inheritance left by their father; for in all countries, where men were not governed by fixed laws, it is certain that the will of the prince would always be the reigning code.

Id. page 206.] The old chronicles tell us, an eſquire named *Taillefer* or *Cut-Iron*, being at the head of the Norman army on horſeback, ſang forth the famous ſong of Roland, which was ſo long in the mouth of every Frenchman, and of which there is not the leaſt fragment remaining. This ſame Taillefer, after ſinging this ſong, in which he was accompanied by all the army, clapped ſpurs to his horſe, and rode into the midſt of the Engliſh forces, where he was preſently cut in pieces.

Ibid.] Some writers term the crowning of William a free election; an act of authority of the parliament of England. It is indeed the authority of ſlaves, trained to war, who grant their maſters the liberty of ſcourging them.

William having received a conſecrated banner from the pope, when he ſet out on his Engliſh expedition,

in return now ſent his holineſs the banner of king Harold, who had been ſlain in the battle, and a ſmall ſhare of the ſmall treaſure, which a king of England in thoſe times could be ſuppoſed to be poſſeſſed of. This was a conſiderable preſent however for pope Alexander II. who was ſtill diſputing his ſee with Honorius II. and who, in conſequence of a long civil war in Rome, was reduced to a ſtate of indigence. Thus a Barbarian, the ſon of a proſtitute, and the murderer of a lawful king, divides the ſpoils of that king with another barbarian; for, take away the titles of duke of Normandy, king of England and pope, and we ſhall have only the action of a Norman thief, and a Lombard receiver; and to this, in fact, may every kind of uſurpation be reduced.

Of the STATE of EUROPE, In the Tenth and Eleventh Centuries.

Vol. I. chap. xxxiii. page 209.

THE dukes of Muſcovy were not at that time called czars or tſars, or tchards; nor did they aſſume this title till after they became maſters of thoſe countries about Caſan, which belonged to certain Tſars. Tſar is a Sclavoniſh term, taken from the Perſian language; and in the Sclavonian bible, king David is called Tſar David.

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Id. page 211.] Albert, ſurnamed the Great, made a journey into Poland, purpoſely to root out their ſhocking cuſtoms; but it was a conſiderable time before he could ſucceed. All the reſt of the nation lived after a manner equally ſavage, the true ſtate of human nature, before it had been changed by art.

Of SPAIN, and of the MOORS.

Vol. I. chap. xxxiv. page 213.

WE are not told whether the Cid's wife Chimene § embraced the Chriſtian religion. The Moors at that time paſſed for a people of great conſequence;

§ Or Ximena.

quence; and an alliance with them was deemed an high honour. The ſurname Rodriguez was Mooriſh; and it is from hence that the Spaniards were called *Maranas*.

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Id. page 217.] It was from the middle to the latter end of the eleventh century, that the Cid rendered himſelf ſo famous in Europe. This was the golden age of chivalry, but at the ſame time was the æra of the inſolent attempts of Gregory VII. of the misfortunes of Germany, and of the firſt cruſade.

Of RELIGION and SUPERSTITION in the Tenth and Eleventh Centuries.

Vol. I. chap. xxxv. page 220, 221.

THOSE who were called Manicheans, and thoſe who were afterwards named Albigenſes, Vaudois, Lollards, and who appeared ſo often under different names, were remnants of the firſt Gauliſh Chriſtians, who were attached to ſeveral ancient cuſtoms, which the church of Rome thought proper to alter afterwards; as likewiſe to certain vague opinions, which that ſame church adopted in proceſs of time; for example, theſe primitive Chriſtians knew nothing of image-worſhip: they had never been injoined auricular confeſſion. We muſt not ſuppoſe, that in the time of Clovis, or thoſe preceding his reign, the inhabitants of the Alps were adepts in the dogma of tranſubſtantiation, and ſuch like. In the eighth century, Claude, archbiſhop of Turin, adopted moſt of thoſe opinions which at preſent conſtitute what is called the Proteſtant religion, and pretended that they were thoſe of the primitive church. There is almoſt always a ſmall flock ſeparated from the principal one; and from the beginning of the eleventh century, this ſmall flock was butchered or diſperſed, whenever it attempted to ſhew its head.

Id.

Id. page 223, 224. "It is evident," ſays Ratram, "that the bread and wine do not undergo any change; "and therefore they muſt be the ſame that they were "at firſt:" and concludes with this quotation from St. Auguſtin, "That the bread which is called the body, "and the wine which is called the blood, are emblems, "becauſe the whole is a myſtery."

In whatever manner Ratram himſelf, or others, might underſtand this, they wrote againſt him. And much about the ſame time another Benedictine monk, named Paſcaſius Rathbert, paſſed for the firſt perſon who had explained the general opinion in expreſs terms, by ſaying, "That the bread was the real body of our Lord, which "was brought forth by the Virgin; and the wine mixed "with the water, the real blood which flowed from his "ſide, abſolutely, and not figuratively." This diſpute gave riſe to the ſect of the Stercoriſts, or Stercoraniſts, who had the boldneſs to examine phyſically an object of faith; and pretended that the conſecrated elements muſt undergo digeſtion, and be evacuated again like common aliments.

As theſe controverſies were all carried on in Latin, and that the laity were in thoſe times wholly occupied in warlike affairs, they ſeldom took part in ſuch ſcholaſtic diſputes; and, by a happy conſequence, they produced no miſchievous effects. The common people had in general a vague and obſcure idea of holy myſteries, and almoſt always received their articles of faith as they did their money, without being at the pains to weigh or examine it.

Id page 225] It was after the controverſy and condemnation of Berenger, that the church inſtituted the ceremony of elevating the hoſt; and that the people, in having the object of their adoration before their eyes, might no longer doubt of its reality, which had been ſo warmly diſputed. But the term tranſubſtantiation was not annexed to this myſtery, nor adopted till the year 1215, at the council of Lateran.

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The opinion of Scotus, Ratram, and Berenger, was not intirely buried, but was preſerved by ſome of the clergy, from whom it was tranſmitted to and received by the Vaudois, the Albigenſes, the followers of Hus, and the Proteſtants, as we ſhall ſee hereafter.

You may have obſerved, that in all the diſputes which have armed the Chriſtians againſt each other, ſince the firſt riſe of their church, the ſee of Rome has always ſided with that doctrine which tended the moſt to degrade the human underſtanding, and obſcure the light of reaſon. I here ſpeak only as an hiſtorian; I ſet aſide the inſpiration and infallibility of the church, which make no part of hiſtory. It is certain, that, in making marriage a ſacrament, they rendered conjugal fidelity a greater virtue, and adultery a more heinous crime; and that, by inculcating the belief of the real preſence of God in the bread and wine which were taken into the ſtomach, they filled the mind of the communicants with a more reverential awe for the myſtery of the Euchariſt. What reverence was not due to thoſe, who could with a few words change a common aliment into the Divine Nature, and eſpecially for the chief of a religion that could operate ſuch a prodigy? When human reaſon, left to itſelf, began to examine this myſtery, the object of former veneration became leſſened in the general eſteem; and the multiplicity of prieſts, by rendering this miracle too common, made it at length leſs reſpected by the people.

And here we muſt not forget the cuſtom, which began to be introduced in the eleventh century, of buying off the puniſhments of the dead, by the alms and prayers of the living, and freeing their ſouls from purgatory, and the eſtabliſhing a ſolemn feſtival for this act of piety.

The opinion of a purgatory, as well as that of an hell, is of the moſt ancient date; but it is no-where ſo clearly expreſſed, as in the ſixth book of Virgil's Æneid, in which we meet with moſt of the myſteries of the religion of the Gentiles. The paſſage I mean is the following:

Ergo

Ergo exercentur pœnis, veterumque malorum
Supplicia expendunt, &c.

This notion was by degrees adopted and ſanctified by the profeſſors of Chriſtianity; and ſome carried it ſo far as to believe that we might by prayer change the decrees of Providence, and obtain of God the immediate ſalvation of a ſoul condemned to undergo a temporary puniſhment in the next life.

Cardinal Peter Damien, the ſame who relates the ſtory of king Robert's queen being delivered of a monſter, tells us, that a pilgrim, in his return from a voyage to Jeruſalem, was caſt by a tempeſt on a deſert iſland, where he found an old hermit, who told him, that the iſland was inhabited only by devils, and that the neighbourhood of his cottage was intirely covered with flames, into which the devils uſed to caſt the ſouls of the dead; and that theſe ſame devils were inceſſantly crying and howling againſt St. Odilon, abbot of Cluni, who was their mortal enemy, and whoſe prayers, they ſaid, with thoſe of his monks, robbed them of ſome ſoul almoſt every day.

This relation being made to Odilon, he inſtituted the feſtival of the dead (or *fête des morts* *) in his convent. The principles of humanity and piety, which conſtitute the baſis of this inſtitution, may in ſome meaſure ſerve as an excuſe for the fable of the pilgrim. The church ſoon adopted this ſolemnity, and made it an obligatory one. Great indulgences were annexed to thoſe who offered up prayers for the dead; and if it had ſtopped there, it would have been an act of devotion; but it ſoon degenerated into an abuſe. Theſe indulgences were ſold at an extravagant price, and the mendicant friars in particular made people pay for taking the ſouls of their friends out of purgatory. Nothing was talked of but apparitions of deceaſed perſons, who complained that their ſouls were ſuffering in purgatory, and requiring them to be releaſed, with denunciations of ſudden death,

* This feſtival is with us called All Soul's Day, and is held on the ſecond of November.

death, and eternal puniſhment, to thoſe who refuſed to perform this duty. In a word, fraud and extortion ſucceeded to pious credulity; and this was one of the reaſons which in proceſs of time loſt the church of Rome one half of Europe.

Id. page 226.] The reverence paid to the aſs, was in commemoration of that on which our Saviour made his entry into Jeruſalem.

REFLECTIONS on the EMPEROR HENRY IV.

Vol. I. chap. 36. page 227. LET us ſtop for an inſtant to contemplate the exhumated corpſe of that famous emperor Henry IV. a prince ſtill more unfortunate than Henry IV. king of France. Let us examine whence came ſuch repeated humiliations and misfortunes on the one hand; and on the other, ſuch a bold exertion of power, ſo many ſhocking actions deemed holy, ſo many crowned heads made the victims of religion, and we ſhall find, that the true cauſe of all theſe calamities and diſorders was in the common people, who are always the foremoſt to arm the hands of ſuperſtition. It was on account of the blackſmiths and butchers of Germany, that this emperor appeared barefooted before the biſhop of Rome. It is the common people who, always ſlaves to ſuperſtition themſelves, are for having their maſters loaded with the ſame yoke. When once a prince ſuffers his ſubjects to be blinded by fanaticiſm, they will ſoon oblige him to appear as fanatic as themſelves; and if he attempts to throw off the bondage which they are ſo fond of wearing, they will rebel againſt him. Though he may perhaps imagine, that the more weighty he makes the chains of religion (which ever ought to be light and gentle) the more ſubmiſſive his people will be, the event will ſhew him he has been miſtaken, and that his ſubjects will make uſe of thoſe very chains to bind him on his throne, and even to drag him from it.

Id. page 229.

Of

Of FREDERIC BARBAROSSA.

Vol. I. chap. 38. page 241. THIS emperor promiſed that he would attempt nothing againſt the life, the perſon, nor the honour of the popes, the cardinals, or the magiſtrates; and the pope, on his ſide, took the ſame oath to the emperor and his officers. Such was at that time the ſtate of the weſtern part of Chriſtendom, that the two principal perſonages of this little portion of the world, one of whom boaſted himſelf the ſucceſſor of the Cæſars, and the other of Jeſus Chriſt, were both obliged to take an oath to each other, that they would not be aſſaſſins during the time of the ceremony. A knight completely armed took this oath to pope Adrian IV. in the emperor's name; and the pontiff took his oath in the preſence of the knight.

The crowning or conſecrating of a pope, was at that time attended with as extraordinary ceremonies, and which partook more of ſimplicity than barbariſm. The pontiff elect was ſeated on a cloſe-ſtool, called the *Stercorarium*, and afterwards on a marble chair, where they preſented him with the two keys; from thence he was removed to a third chair, where he was preſented with twelve coloured ſtones. All theſe cuſtoms have been aboliſhed by time, by which they were firſt introduced. When the emperor Frederic had taken the above oath, the pope then went to meet him ſome miles from Rome.

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Id. page 246.] The Germans always wanted to be maſters in Italy, and the Italians were always determined to ſupport their liberties. And moſt certainly they had a more natural right to that liberty, than any German could have to be their maſter.

The Milaneſe ſet the example. The citizens become ſoldiers, ſurprized a party of the emperor's troops near Lodi, and defeated them. Had they been ſeconded by the other cities, Italy would have put on a new face. But Frederic had time to recruit his army.

Id.

Id. page 34.] The election of a pope had been always attended with a civil war for upwards of two centuries.

THE FEUDAL LAW,

Which obliged the Liege-Man to march againſt his Sovereign, in the Service of his Lord.

Vol. I. chap. xl. page 245.

THE emperor Frederic Barbaroſſa aboliſhed this law in the year 1158: A law which had been eſtabliſhed by cuſtom, and which that cuſtom ſtill maintained in the empire, notwithſtanding all his care, whenever the great vaſſals were powerful enough to make war againſt their prince. It remained in full force in France, till the extinction of the houſe of Burgundy. In England the feudal government ſoon gave place to the liberty of the ſubject; and in Spain it ſubmitted to the abſolute power of the ſovereign.

In the beginning of the race of Hugues or Hugh, commonly called the Capetian race, from a nick-name given to that king, all the little vaſſals were in arms againſt the great; and the kings of France were frequently at war with the barons of the duchy of France. The race of the ancient Daniſh pirates who reigned in Normandy and England, always countenanced theſe diſſentions; on which account Lewis the Fat, found ſo much difficulty in reducing the ſieur de Couci, the baron de Corbeil, the ſieur de Montleri, and another ſieur of the village of Puiſet, the lord of Baudouin and of Chateauſort; and we find that he did not dare to condemn, or put to death theſe rebellious vaſſals. Things are greatly changed in France ſince that time.

England, from the time of Henry I. was governed in the ſame manner as France. In the reign of Stephen, ſon to Henry I. they reckoned no leſs than one thouſand forfeited caſtles or ſtrong ho'ds in England. The kings of France and England could do nothing then without the

the conſent and aſſiſtance of a number of barons; and theſe times were, as we have ſeen, the reign of anarchy and confuſion.

DIVORCE between LEWIS the Young, and his Queen ELEANOR.

Idem, page 256. THIS divorce makes one of the greateſt objects of the common law, which hiſtorians ought to have well underſtood. The marriage was diſſolved at Beaujenci, by a council of biſhops, on the idle pretext that Eleanor was ſecond couſin to Lewis; and moreover, the Gaſcon lords were obliged to make oath, that the married couple were within the decrees of conſanguinity, as if the truth of ſuch a relationſhip could not be known but by an oath. It is very certain that this marriage was null, according to the ſuperſtitious laws of thoſe times of ignorance. But if the marriage was null, the two daughters who were born of that marriage muſt have been baſtards; and yet they were both married afterwards as legitimate daughters of Lewis; and of conſequence the marriage of their mother Eleanor was reputed valid, notwithſtanding the deciſion of the council. The council then did not pronounce this marriage null, but only declared it to be diſſolved, and a divorce; and in the whole proceedings the king never once accuſed his wife of adultery. Therefore it was in fact a divorce in full council upon the moſt frivolous motive.

It remains to know how, agreeable to the rules of the Chriſtian religion, Eleanor and Lewis could again be married to each other. St. Matthew and St. Luke declare plainly, that a man cannot marry after having put away his former wife; nor can any man marry a woman who has been ſo put away by her huſband. This law was delivered from the mouth of Chriſt himſelf, and yet it has never been obſerved. What a ſource for excommunications, interdicts, commotions and wars; had the popes then intermeddled in ſuch an affair with which they have ſince ſo frequently concerned themſelves!

Id.

Id. page 45] While Thomas Becket was in France, he excommunicated ſeveral of the lords of Henry's privy council; and wrote in the following manner to that prince. "It is true that I owe you reſpect as my king, "but at the ſame time I owe you chaſtiſement as my "ſpiritual ſon." And in the ſame letter he threatens him with being changed into a beaſt like Nebuchadnezzar; though there does not ſeem to have been any great reſemblance between Henry and the king of Babylon.

HENRY II. KING OF ENGLAND.

Idem, page 261. THIS king made the conqueſt of Ireland, in the year 1172. It was at that time a ſavage country, and had been ſubdued in part by the earl of Pembroke, with only 1200 men. This nobleman wanted to ſecure his conqueſt: but the king being ſtronger than he, and being moreover furniſhed with a bull from the pope, eaſily made himſelf maſter of the whole iſland, which ever afterwards remained under the Engliſh dominion; though in a barren, poor and uſeleſs condition, till towards the end of the eighteenth century; when agriculture, manufactures, arts and ſciences, have been all carried to perfection there; ſo that Ireland, though a conquered country, is become one of the moſt flouriſhing provinces in Europe.

JOHN LACKLAND.

Idem, page 265. WHO were the peers of France, that paſſed ſentence of death on the king of England? They could not be the clergy, for they cannot aſſiſt on a trial upon life and death. We are not told, that there was at that time in Paris a count of Toulouſe, a count of Flanders, or a duke of Burgundy. The accuſed perſon was himſelf duke of Guyenne and Normandy. The aſſembly of the peers was compoſed of barons, holding immediately of the crown. This is a point of great importance which our hiſtorians ought

ought to have well examined, inſtead of amuſing themſelves with drawing up armies in battle array, or tiring our patience with relations of ſieges of caſtles that no longer exiſt.

LEWIS VIII. KING OF ENGLAND.

Vol. I. chap. xl. page 267. THIS King did not long keep poſſeſſion of the Engliſh throne. The people of England, who had a liking to Henry, afterwards Henry III. obliged Lewis to reſtore to that prince the crown which he had taken from his father John. Thus Lewis was only made uſe of by them as a ſcourge to chaſtiſe a monarch who had diſpleaſed them. The pope's legate, who was then in London, dictated as maſter the conditions on which Lewis was to quit England; and, after having excommunicated that prince, for preſuming to keep poſſeſſion of the throne againſt his holineſs's decree, compelled him to do penance for the ſame, by keeping a tenth of two years of his revenue; his officers were taxed at a twentieth; and his chaplains, who had come with him out of France, were obliged to go to Rome to aſk abſolution, which they did; and were ordered, as a puniſhment, to appear at the door of the cathedral church at Paris, at the four great feaſts in the year, barefooted, and in their ſheets, with each a diſcipline in his hand, with which he was to be flogged by the canons. It is ſaid that they actually performed a part of this penance.

This incredible tranſaction paſſed in the reign of a courageous and able king, Philip Auguſtus, who ſuffered, without murmuring, this indignity to be put upon his nation and his own ſon; ſo that the victor of Bouvines could not be ſaid to have ended his career with glory.

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Id. page 268.] This is the proper place to controvert a ſtrange ſtory, which has been told by all our hiſtorians, and which is as follows: Lewis VIII. being ill of a dangerous malady, his phyſicians thought that there were no means left to ſave his life, but the uſe of women. Accordingly

Accordingly a young girl was conveyed into the bed to him; but the king, who chose rather to die than stain his soul with a mortal sin, sent the damsel away. Father Daniel has caused a copper-plate of this memorable exploit to be prefixed to the life of Lewis VIII. in his history of France, as the most glorious action of this prince.

This fable has been since applied to several monarchs, and is like all the other tales of this kind, the pure effect of the ignorance of the times. But at present we should certainly know, that the use of women is by no means a cure for sickness; and moreover, if Lewis VIII. could not have recovered by any other means, there was Blanche his queen, the handsomest woman of her time, who was very able to have performed this cure. However, Father Daniel will have it, that Lewis made a truly noble end, by resisting his passions, and fighting against the heretics. It is true, that, a little before his death, he went to Languedoc, to take possession of part of the country of Toulouse, which young Amauri, count of Montfort, son to the usurper of that name, had sold to him. But can it be said, that buying a country of a person, who had no right to that country, was fighting for the faith? A person of sound understanding, when he reads history, will find little else to do than to refute the errors with which it abounds.

OF FREDERIC II.

Vol. II. chap. xlii. page 1.

IT was upoon a letter of pope Gregory IX. that it was believed in those times *, that there really was a book entitled *De tribus Impostoribus* (of the three impostors.) This book has been sought for in every age, and has never yet been found.

* In the Thirteenth Century.

OF

OF PALESTINE.

Vol. II. chap. xlii. page 5, 6.

ALL the country to the ſouthward of the Mediterranean and of Egypt, from Eſongeber to the Red Sea, is nothing but a collection of ſandy deſarts, or hideous mountains. Theſe rocks and ſands, which are now inhabited by a ſet of Arabian freebooters, made the ancient country of the Jews. They afterwards extended themſelves a little northward into Arabia Petræa. The ſmall country of Jericho, which they invaded, was one of the beſt they poſſeſſed; the ſoil of Jeruſalem being much more dry and parched, and not having the advantage of being ſituated on a river. There is very little paſture in this country, ſo that the inhabitants, not being able to find food for horſes, are obliged to make uſe of aſſes as their only beaſts of carriage. Their oxen are very poor, but ſheep thrive a little better; they have olive-trees in ſome places, which produce tolerable fruit. There are likewiſe ſome palm-trees here and there; and this country, which the Jews made habitable after infinite pains and labour, was to them a paradiſe, in compariſon with the deſerts of Porain and Cades-Borne.

St. Jerome, who lived ſo long in Bethlehem, acknowledges, that they were troubled with continual droughts in that barren, rocky, and ſandy country, where it ſeldom or never rains, and where there are no ſprings or fountains; the want of which, the natives are obliged to ſupply by vaſt ciſterns, at a prodigious expence.

OF THE FIRST CRUSADE.

Vol. II. chap. xliv. page 16, &c.

ANTIQUITY had never beheld an inſtance of emigrations, from one part of the world to another, ſet on foot by religious enthuſiaſm. This epidemic madneſs now made its appearance for the firſt time, in

in order that there might be no ſcourge, with which mankind had not been afflicted.

Id. page 22.] A certain French count, having had the inſolence to ſeat himſelf by the ſide of the emperor Alexis Commenes, and being aſked by that prince's order, who he was, made this anſwer. "I am deſcended "of a right noble family. When in my own country, "I went every day to the church, which is in my own "lordſhip, where were aſſembled all the brave lords "who had vowed to fight duels, and who prayed to "Jeſus Chriſt and the holy Virgin, to be favourable to "them; but not one of them would fight with me."

THE TAKING OF JERUSALEM.

Idem, page 26. ELMACIM writes, that at the taking of Jeruſalem in 1099, the conqueror ſhut up all the Jews found in the place, within the ſynagogues which had been granted them by the Turks; and ſetting fire to it, every ſoul periſhed in the flames. This action may be credited after the horrible cruelties they exerciſed upon this unhappy people in their march.

CRUSADES after the TAKING of JERUSALEM.

Vol. II. chap. xlv. page 27. IN the year 1148, Lewis the Young, whether he thought himſelf in danger from the Turks, or the prince of Antioch's troops, took his wife away privately from that city, and went with her to Jeruſalem; by which he had at leaſt the ſatisfaction of fulfilling the vow he had made, and of telling St. Bernard,

Id. page 35. that he had ſeen Bethlehem and Nazareth. But during this journey, the few troops he had left were beaten and diſperſed on all ſides; and at length, three thouſand of the French deſerted in a body, and turned Mahometans to keep themſelves from ſtarving.

OF

OF SALADIN.

Idem, p. 41: THE Chriſtians were yet * in poſſeſſion of Jeruſalem, and diſputing with the Turks and Tartars ſome territories in Syria. While Europe was torn in pieces by this holy war, while Andronicus Manuel aſcended the tottering throne of Conſtantinople, by the murder of his nephew, and while Frederic Barbaroſſa and the popes kept all Italy in arms, nature produced one of thoſe tremendous accidents, which ſhould make mankind enter into themſelves, and reflect upon their own nothingneſs; an earthquake more violent and extenſive than that in 1755, ruined moſt of the cities in Syria; and alſo this petty kingdom of Jeruſalem. The earth opened in an hundred different places, and ſwallowed up men and beaſts. The Turks were told by their prieſts, that it was a judgment of God upon the Chriſtians; and the Chriſtians were taught to believe, that God declared himſelf in this manner againſt the Turks; and both parties continued to butcher each other on the ruins of Syria.

Idem, page 42.] It is ſaid that the emperor Henry VI. demanded an hundred thouſand marks of ſilver, for the ranſom of Richard, king of England; but an hundred thouſand marks would, according to the preſent value of money, make five millions of livres, a ſum which England in thoſe days was not able to furniſh: it was more likely an hundred thouſand *Marques* or *Marcas*, that is, about an hundred thouſand of our preſent crowns.

Id. page 43.] The Chriſtians who followed Baldwin count of Flanders directed their Cruſade againſt the chief of the Chriſtian religion †.

OF

* In the Twelfth Century.
† Pope Innocent III.

OF THE TAKING OF CONSTANTINOPLE.

Idem, page 58, &c.

THE empire of Conſtantinople, which had ſtill the title of the Roman empire, was ſtill in poſſeſſion of all Greece, the Archipelago and Epirus, and its dominion in Europe extended as far as Belgrade and Walachia. It diſputed the remains of Aſia Minor againſt the Arabians, the Turks, and the Cruſades, and the arts and ſciences were conſtantly cultivated in the capital of the empire. It had an uninterrupted ſucceſſion of hiſtorians, till the time that Mahomet II. made himſelf maſter of it. Theſe hiſtorians were either emperors, princes, or ſtateſmen, but were not therefore better writers. They talk wholly of religion, diſguiſe facts, and aim only at a flow of words, and preſerve nothing of the ancient Greek ſtile but its loquacity. Controverſy was the favourite ſtudy of the court. The emperor Manuel, in the 12th century, had a long diſpute with his biſhops on the words, "My Father is greater than I," while he was threatened by the Cruſaders and the Turks. There was a Greek catechiſm which anathematized, in the ſevereſt manner, that well known verſe in the Alcoran, which ſays, "that God is an infinite Being, who has neither begot "nor has been begotten of any one." Manuel was for having this anathema taken out of the catechiſm. Theſe diſputes ſignalized and enfeebled his reign; but obſerve how cautiouſly Manuel acted with regard to the Muſſulmans in this diſpute. He was not willing that the Greek catechiſm ſhould offer ſo great an inſult to a victorious people, who acknowledged only one incommunicable God, and were greatly offended at our doctrine of the Trinity.

Alexis Manuel, the ſon of this emperor, who had married a daughter of Lewis the Young, king of France, was dethroned by Andronicus, one of his own relations. This Andronicus was himſelf afterwards depoſed by an officer of his palace, named Iſaac Angelus, dragged

through the ſtreets of the capital, had one of his ears cut off, his eyes put out, and afterwards boiling water poured over his body, till he expired in the moſt dreadful agonies.

Iſaac Angelus, who puniſhed an uſurper with ſo much barbarity, was himſelf ſtripped of the crown by his own brother, Alexis Angelus, who ordered his eyes to be put out. This Alexis Angelus took the name of Comnenes, though no ways related to the imperial family of that name. It was this emperor who was the cauſe of the taking of Conſtantinople by the Cruſaders.

The ſon of Iſaac Angelus ſolicited the aſſiſtance of the Pope and the Venetians againſt his cruel uncle; and in order to ſecure them in his favour, he renounced the religion of the Greek church, and embraced that of the Latin. The Venetians, and ſome of the princes of the Cruſades, ſuch as Baldwin count of Flanders, and Boniface, marquis of Monſerrat, granted him their dangerous aſſiſtance. Such auxiliaries were equally hateful to all parties. They encamped with their forces without the gates of the city, which was ſtill in the greateſt confuſion and tumult. Young Alexis, who was hated by the Greeks for having introduced the Latins, in a ſhort time fell a victim to a new faction. One of his relations, named Mirziflas, ſtrangled him with his own hands, and ſeized on the red ſandals, which were part of the inſignia of the imperial dignity.

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Id] The French officers and ſoldiers danced with ſome ladies in the ſanctuary of the church of St. Sophia, while one of the proſtitutes, who followed Baldwin's army, ſeated herſelf on the patriarch's throne, and from thence entertained the company with ſongs ſuitable to her profeſſion.

Of

OF ST. FRANCIS D'ASSISE.

Id. page 52. SUCH is the fate of enthuſiaſm, that St. Francis not being able to compaſs his deſign of burning himſelf alive, and converting the Sultan, was reſolved to try the ſame frolic once more in Morocco; he accordingly took ſhipping for Spain, but having fallen ill by the way, he prevailed on friar Giles, and four other of his companions, to promiſe to go and convert the people of Morocco. Friar Giles and the four monks ſet ſail for Tetuan, got ſafe to Morocco, and preached in Italian out of a cart. The Miramolin taking compaſſion on their folly, ſent them back again to Spain. They returned a ſecond time, and he ſent them back as before. They came again a third time, and then the emperor, incenſed at their inſolence, cauſed ſentence of death to be paſſed on them by his divan, and with his own hand ſtruck off their heads. By a cuſtom equally ſuperſtitious and barbarous, the emperors of Morocco are the chief executioners in their own dominions. The Miramolins pretend to be deſcended from Mahomet. The firſt perſons, who were ſentenced to die after the erection of their empire, requeſted, as a favour, to die by the hands of the emperor, thinking thereby to receive a full expiation of all their ſins; ſince which time this horrible cuſtom has been ſo well kept up, that Muley Iſhmael, the laſt emperor, during his long reign, put to death no leſs than 10,000 perſons.

The death of the five companions of Francis d'Aſſiſe is ſtill celebrated annually at Coimbra, by a proceſſion as ſingular as their adventure. It is pretended, that the bodies of theſe Franciſcans came back to Europe after their execution, and ſtopped at Coimbra, in the church of the Holy Croſs. Every year, on the eve of the arrival of theſe martyrs, the young men and women of the place go in proceſſion from the church of the Holy Croſs, to that of the Franciſcans. The young men and boys have nothing on them but a pair of draw-

ers, which do not fall lower than the upper part of their thighs, and the women and girls wear an under-petticoat full as ſhort. The proceſſion has a conſiderable diſtance to march, and they ſtop ſeveral times by the way.

OF SAINT LEWIS.

Vol. II. chap. xlvi. page 49. THE greateſt part of the large ſhips of burthen, in which the troops of St. Lewis were tranſported, were built in the ports of France. They were 1800 in number. A king of France could not fit out ſuch an armament in theſe days, by reaſon that timber of all kinds is beyond compariſon dearer, all the concomitant expences greater in proportion, and the artillery which is now uſed, and becomes a neceſſary part of the equipment, ſtill enhances the expence and difficulty of fitting out ſo numerous a fleet.

OF GENGIS-CAN.

Vol. II. chap. xlviii. page 62.—66. THE Chineſe author, who has written the conqueſts of Gengis-Can, and whoſe work has been tranſlated by father Gaubel, aſſures us, that the Tartars had not the leaſt knowledge of the art of writing; this art was wholly unknown to all the people between the province of Archangel and the Great Wall; as likewiſe to the Celtes, the Bretons, the Germans, the Scandinavians, and all the natives of Africa on the other ſide of mount Atlas. The uſe of tranſmitting to poſterity the ſeveral articulations of ſpeech, and the ideas of the mind, was one of the great refinements of ſociety, improved and known only to ſome nations more highly civilized than others, and was never univerſally known even among thoſe nations. The Tartars delivered their laws by oral tradition, and had no ſymbols to perpetuate the memory of them.

The

The Greeks, and before them the Aſiatics, were frequently accuſtomed to give the name of Sons of God to their defenders or legiſlators, and even to ſucceſsful or victorious robbers. In all the ages of ignorance divine honours were laviſhly paid to whoever inſtructed, ſerved, or oppreſſed the reſt of mankind.

The monks, who travelled thro' Tartary, in the thirteenth century, tell us, that Gengis-Can and his ſons governed their Tartars with abſolute ſway; but can it be ſuppoſed, that armed conquerors, who, in conjunction with their chief went in ſearch of plunder, to be equally ſhared between them; men, by nature robuſt, free, and uſed to a wandering life, making the ſnow their bed in winter, and the dewy fields their couch in ſummer, would ſuffer themſelves to be treated like beaſts of burthen by their leaders? This was far from being the diſpoſition of the people of the north. The Alands, the Huns, the Gepidæ, the Turks, the Goths, and the Francs, were the companions not the ſlaves of their barbarous chiefs. Deſpotic power is the work of time, and the reſult of a long combat between the ſpirit of ruling and the ſpirit of independence. A chief has always more ways of oppreſſing his companion s than they of reſiſting, and at length money makes him their maſter.

The monk Planus Carpinus, who was ſent in 1243 by Pope Innocent IV. to Caracerum, at that time the capital of Tartary, and who was preſent at the inauguration of the great Khan Octai, tells us, that the principal Tartars made their khan ſit down upon a piece of coarſe beaver's ſkin, and addreſſed him thus: "Honour the great, be juſt and merciful to every one, "otherwiſe thou ſhalt be ſo wretched that thou ſhalt "not be worth the ſkin upon which thou now ſitteſt." This was not the ſpeech of ſlaviſh courtiers.

If we compare the vaſt and ſudden depredations of Gengis-Can and his followers, with the tranſactions of our days, we ſhall find a ſurpriſing difference between

them. Our generals, who underſtand the art of war incomparably better than Gengis or his ſons, or than many of the other conquerors of ancient times, aided with armies, a ſimple detachment of which, with a few cannon, would have put to rout all theſe numerous herds of Huns, Alands, and Scythians, can with difficulty take a few towns in the moſt ſucceſsful expeditions: the reaſon is, that in thoſe days there was no art in war; ſtrength alone decided the fate of the world.

Gengis and his ſons, elevated with the rapid ſucceſs of their arms, thought that they ſhould be able to conquer the whole habitable globe. With this view Coblai-Can, after having made himſelf maſter of China, ſent an army of 100,000 men, on board of a thouſand veſſels called junks, to make the conqueſt of Japan, and another ſon of Gengis, named Batou Shah, penetrated as far as the frontiers of Italy. Pope Celeſtine IV. ſent four monks to him in the quality of ambaſſadors, the only ſet of people who would have accepted ſuch a commiſſion. Father Aſſelin ſays, that he could only be admitted to ſpeak to one of the Tartarian captains, who gave him the following letter for his holineſs:

"If thou wouldſt continue on the face of the earth, "come and do homage to us. If thou obeyeſt not, "we know what will be the conſequence Send new "deputies to us, to inform us whether thou wilt be "our vaſſal or our enemy."

The race of Gengis-Can continued a long time in China, under the name of Iven. It is to be believed, that the ſcience of aſtronomy, for which the Chineſe were ſo famous, fell greatly to decay during theſe revolutions; for after theſe times we find none but Mahometan aſtronomers in China, and they had almoſt always the care of regulating the calendar, till the arrival of the Jeſuits in that empire. This is perhaps one reaſon of the mediocrity of the Chineſe in this reſpect.

This is the whole of what is neceſſary for us to know concerning the Tartars in theſe diſtant ages. Here we meet with no civil nor canon law; no diviſion between the

the throne, the altar, the courts of juſtice; no council, no univerſities, nor any of thoſe inſtitutions which have improved or over-loaded ſociety among us. The Tartars left their deſerts about the year 1212, and in the year 1236 had conquered one half of the hemiſphere. This is all their hiſtory.

Of MAINFROY, or MANFREDDO, &c.

Vol. II. chap. xlix. page 73.

THE emperor Conrad IV. was accuſed of having poiſoned his ſon Henry. You will find that in all ages the ſuſpicion of poiſoning was always more common than the fact itſelf.

The homage, paid to the court of Rome for the kingdoms of Naples and Sicily, was one ſource of the calamities which befel thoſe provinces, and the imperial houſes of Suabia, and of Anjou, which latter, after having ſtripped the lawful heirs of their right, periſhed itſelf in a miſerable manner. This homage was at firſt nothing more than a pious and artful ceremony introduced by the Norman conquerors, who, after the example of many other princes, put their dominions under the protection of the church, in order to ſtop, if poſſible, by the dread of excommunication, the proceedings of thoſe, who wanted to take from them what they had uſurped. The Popes ſoon converted this oblation into an homage, and though not maſters in Rome, they were lords paramount of the Two Sicilies.

The emperor Frederic II. when he died, left Naples and Sicily in the moſt flouriſhing condition, and left behind him, as monuments of his reign, wiſe laws properly enforced, new cities built, the capital beautified, and the arts and ſciences in high eſteem. The kingdom was to have devolved to the emperor Conrad, his ſon. We do not know whether Manfreddo or Manfred, as we call him, was the lawful ſon or baſtard of Frederic; but the emperor ſeems to have conſidered him in

the former light in his will, by which he gave him Tarentum and ſeveral other principalities in ſovereignty, appoints him regent of the kingdom during the abſence of Conrad, and declares him his ſucceſſor in caſe of the death of Conrad, and his ſon Henry, without iſſue. So far every thing appeared well ſettled on a peaceable footing; but the Italians never yielded a voluntary obedience to any prince of German extraction. The Popes hated the houſe of Suabia, and wanted to drive them out of Italy, and the factions of the Guelphs and Gibelines ſtill continued as ſtrong as ever all over Italy.

The famous Pope Innocent II. who had depoſed the emperor Frederic II. at Lyons, that is to ſay, who had the inſolence to declare him incapable of reigning, did not fail on this occaſion to aſſert, that the children of an excommunicated pagan could not ſucceed to the poſſeſſions of their father.

Innocent then quitted Lyons, to haſten to the frontiers of Naples, in order to exhort the barons not to yield obedience to Manfred. This pontiff fought only with the arms of opinion; and you have ſeen what dangerous weapons theſe were. Manfred did not dare to truſt the barons, who were all devotees, factious, and declared enemies to the houſe of Suabia. There were ſtill ſome Saracens remaining in Apulia. His father, the emperor Frederic II. had always kept a guard compoſed of theſe Mahometans; the city of Lucera, or Nocera, was full of them, inſomuch that it got the ſirname of *Lucera di Pagani*, or the city of infidels, tho' the Mahometans were far from deſerving this title which the Italians gave them. No people in the world ever had leſs of what is called paganiſm in their belief, or were more ſtrongly attached to the worſhip of one pure God; but the term infidel, or pagan, had rendered Frederic II. odious, on account of the number of Arabians he employed in his armies, and made Manfred ſtill more ſo. Nevertheleſs this latter, with the aſſiſtance of his Mahometans, quelled the revolt, and kept the whole kingdom in awe, the city of Naples

Naples excepted, who acknowledged Innocent as its only maſter. This pontiff pretended, that the Two Sicilies had devolved to him, and were become his property in virtue of the words he pronounced when he depoſed Frederic II. and his family, at the council of Lyons. The emperor Conrad arrives in perſon to defend his inheritance. He takes the city of Naples; the pope flies to Genoa, his native country, where he contents himſelf with offering the kingdom to prince Richard, brother of Henry III. king of England, a prince who was not in a condition to fit out a ſingle veſſel, and who thanked his holineſs for his dangerous preſent, without accepting it.

The unavoidable diſſenſions between Conrad, a German king, and Manfred, an Italian, did the court of Rome more ſervice than either the politics or the anathemas of the pope. Conrad died, and it was pretended, as I have obſerved, that he was poiſoned. The papal ſee gave credit to the report. Conrad left the crown of Naples to an infant of only ſeven years of age. This was the unfortunate Conradine, whom we ſhall ſee come to a tragical end. Conradine was in Germany; Manfred was ambitious: he cauſed a report to be ſpread, that the young king was dead, and made the people take an oath to him as regent, in caſe Conradine was alive, and as king if he was dead. Innocent had always on his ſide in the kingdom the faction of the Guelphs, the ſworn enemies of the imperial race, and alſo the ſtrength of his excommunications. He declares himſelf king of the Two Sicilies, and grants certain inveſtitures in that quality. Here, then, we at length ſee the popes become kings of that country which was conquered by Norman gentlemen. However, their royalty was but of ſhort duration; the pope had an army, but as he knew not how to command it, he put one of his legates at its head; but Manfred, and his Mahometans, with ſome barons, who were not quite ſo ſcrupulous as the reſt, routed the legate and the pontifical army.

It was in this ſituation of affairs that pope Innocent, finding that he could not get poſſeſſion of the kingdom of Naples for himſelf, bethought him of offering to the count of Anjou, brother to St Lewis, a crown, of which he had no right to diſpoſe, nor the count to accept. But the pope died in the very beginning of this negotiation; and ſuch is generally the end of all thoſe ambitious projects, which torment and perplex the life of man.

Innocent IV. was ſucceeded in the pontifical chair by Alexander IV. (Rinaldo de Signi) who adopted all the views of his predeceſſor. He could not however prevail on the brother of St. Lewis, the French king, to enter into his meaſures. That monarch had unfortunately exhauſted his kingdom by his laſt cruſade, and his ranſom while in Egypt, and was ſpending what little he had left in rebuilding the walls of ſome towns on the coaſt of Paleſtine, which were in a ſhort time afterwards demoliſhed again by the chriſtians.

Pope Alexander IV. began his pontificate by ſummoning Manfred to appear before him. This he had a right to do by the feudal law, that prince being his vaſſal; but as this right went always with the ſtrongeſt, it was not to be ſuppoſed that a vaſſal, powerful in arms, would appear at the ſummons of his lord. Alexander was at Naples, into which he had gained admittance by his intrigues, and from thence he treated with his vaſſals who were in Apulia. Manfred deſired his holineſs to ſend a cardinal to treat with him. The pope's council determined, *id non convenire ſanctæ ſedis honori, ut cardinales iſto modo mittantur*; "that it was "not agreeable to the honour of the holy ſee to ſend "cardinals in that manner."

The civil war then was continued. The pope publiſhed a cruſade againſt Manfred, in the ſame manner as they had been publiſhed againſt the Muſſulmans, the emperors, and the Albigenſes. It is a conſiderable diſtance between Naples and England; nevertheleſs this cruſade was publiſhed there; a nuncio was ſent into that kingdom to collect the tenth penny. This nuncio abſolved king Henry III. of the vow he had made to carry

carry the war into Paleſtine, on taking another, to furniſh the pope with men and money for his war againſt Manfred.

Matthew Paris ſays, that this nuncio raiſed 50,000 l. ſterling in England: to ſee the Engliſh at preſent, we could hardly ſuppoſe their anceſtors could have been ſo weak. The court of Rome, in order to extort this money, had flattered the king with hopes of getting the crown of Naples for his ſon Edmund, and at the ſame time was treating with Charles of Anjou, being always ready to beſtow the kingdom of the Two Sicilies to whomſoever would bid moſt for it. However, all theſe negotiations fell to the ground at that time. The pope ſquandered away the money he had raiſed in England in preparing for his cruſade, which at laſt did not take place. Manfred kept his crown, and pope Alexander IV. died without having ſucceeded in any thing but extorting money from England.

A cobler being made pope, under the name of Urban IV. continued what his predeceſſors had begun. This cobler was born at Troyë in Champagne. His predeceſſor had cauſed a cruſade to be preached in England againſt the Two Sicilies; this ſent to preach one in France, where he ſcattered his plenary indulgences with a liberal hand, but could raiſe only a ſmall ſum and ſome few troops, which the count of Flanders, ſon-in-law to Charles of Anjou, led into Italy. Charles himſelf at length accepted the crown of Naples and Sicily, with the conſent of St. Lewis king of France; but pope Urban died before he ſaw the beginning of this revolution.

Here we find three popes, who waſte their lives in fruitleſs attempts to dethrone Manfred. A Languedocian, (Clement IV.) a ſubject of Charles of Anjou, completed what the others had begun, and had the honour to have his maſter for his vaſſal.

Id.

Id. page 158.] The popes had, about a century before, created the dignity of ſenator of Rome, which was in fact a revival of the power of the ancient tribunes. This ſenator was the chief and guardian of the municipal government; and the popes, who ſo freely diſpoſed of crowns and kingdoms, could not impoſe a ſingle tax on the people of Rome. They were then the ſame that an elector of Cologne is in that city.

The pope's legate deprived Manfred's body of chriſtian burial. Kings take revenge only on the living; here the church extended hers to both living and dead.

Of the Cruſade againſt the ALBIGENSES.

Vol. II. chap. L. page 77. THE Jeſuit Daniel, in ſpeaking of theſe unhappy wretches, † in his hiſtory of France, calls them infamous and deteſtable heretics; but, with the good father's leave, men, who could thus voluntarily embrace martyrdom, could not be perſons of infamous morals; and moſt certainly there was nothing deteſtable in this, but the cruelty with which they were treated. We may indeed lament the blindneſs of theſe poor creatures, who imagined, that God would make them everlaſtingly happy, becauſe the monks thought fit to condemn them to the flames.

The ſpirit of juſtice and reaſon, which has of late times been introduced into the law of nations in Europe, has at length evinced, that nothing could be more unjuſt than this war againſt the Albigenſes, in which thoſe concerned did not take arms to quell a people who had rebelled againſt their ſovereign, but to oblige a ſovereign to deſtroy his people. What ſhould we ſay in theſe days,

† The 140 poor creatures, who, chanting a pſalm, ran and threw themſelves headlong into the fire that Simon of Montfort had ordered to be kindled for their execution.

days, if a number of biſhops were to beſiege the elector of Saxony, or the elector Palatine, in their capitals, on the pretence, that the ſubjects of theſe princes performed peaceably certain ceremonies, which were not in uſe among the ſubjects of thoſe biſhops?

Id. page 79.] A council of Rome grants the count of Toulouſe a penſion of 400 marks, or marques. If they were marks, it was really 20,000 of our preſent franks; and if marques, (marcas) about 1200. The latter is moſt probable, if we conſider that the poorer they kept him, the more he muſt be dependent on the church.

Of the Cruſade againſt LANGUEDOC in 1228.

Idem. THE reign of St. Lewis, the ninth of that name, began unhappily by a horrible cruſade againſt Chriſtians, his vaſſals. It was not the lot of this prince to acquire any great increaſe of glory by cruſades. Blanch of Caſtille, his mother, a woman wholly devoted to the pope, by birth a Spaniard, and conſequently abhorring the very name of heretic, and withal guardian to a young prince, who was to ſhare the ſpoils of the oppreſſed, did all in her power to aſſiſt a brother of Simon of Montfort, to complete the ravages in Languedoc. Young count Raymond defended himſelf gallantly againſt his enemies. A war was lighted up, reſembling that in the Cevennes, which has been already treated of. The prieſts ſhewed no mercy to the Languedocians; and theſe never ſpared the prieſts. All the priſoners, on both ſides, were put to death, and every town, that was taken, reduced to aſhes, for the ſpace of two years.

At length, the queen regent Blanch, who had other enemies to guard againſt, and young Raymond, weary of ſuch a ſcene of ſlaughter, and unable to ſupport the expences of the war, concluded a peace at Paris in 1228. One cardinal St. Angelo was choſen arbitrator on the occaſion, who impoſed the following conditions, which were

were agreed to, and executed on the ſide of Raymond.

The count of Toulouſe was to pay 10,000 marks or marques, for the uſe of the churches of Languedoc, into the hands of a perſon appointed by the cardinal to receive the ſame; 2000 to the monks of Citteaux, who were already immenſely rich; 500 to the monks of Clervaux, who were ſtill richer than they; and 1500 to the other abbies. He was to go and make war for five years upon the Turks and Saracens, who, moſt aſſuredly, had never made war upon him; he was to give up to the king of France, without any equivalent, all his dominions on this ſide the Rhine; for what he poſſeſſed on the other ſide of that river was a fief of the empire. Raymond ſigned this inſtrument, which ſtript him of all his poſſeſſions, and then cardinal St. Angelo, and the pope's legate, acknowledged him not only to be, but always to have been, a good catholic; only they led him, for form's ſake, in his ſhirt, and barefooted, before the altar of the church of Notre Dame, in Paris, where he aſked forgiveneſs of the Virgin; probably, in his heart, for having ſigned ſo infamous a treaty.

Idem.] The cruſades againſt Languedoc laſted twenty years. The deſire of poſſeſſing another's property gave riſe to them, and at the ſame time to the inquiſition. This new ſcourge, before unknown to all religions in the world, received its firſt form in the year 1204, in the pontificate of Innocent III. It was eſtabliſhed in France as early as 1229, in the reign of St. Lewis. A council held at Toulouſe, in the laſt mentioned year, began by forbidding Chriſtian laymen to read the Old and New Teſtament. It was a downright inſult to mankind to dare to ſay to them, "We will that ye have a "certain belief, but we will not, that you read the "book on which that belief is to be founded."

This council ordered all the works of Ariſtotle to be burnt, that is to ſay, two or three copies of them that had been brought from Conſtantinople, during the firſt cruſades. Theſe were books that no one underſtood, and

and on which the hereſy of the Languedocians was founded. Succeeding councils have placed Ariſtotle almoſt in the ſame rank with the fathers of the church. Thus you will ſee, every where, in this great picture of the follies of mankind, the opinions of the clergy, the ſuperſtition of the people, and enthuſiaſm in general, continually putting on new ſhapes, but always tending to plunge the world in barbariſm and miſery, till certain academies, or aſſemblies of men of learning, and enlightened knowledge, aroſe and made the preſent age bluſh for the ignorance of its anceſtors.

Id. page 69.] But it was ſtill worſe in 1237, when the king had the weakeneſs to give leave for a grand inquiſitor to reſide in his kingdom, nominated by the pope. This was Robert, a Franciſcan friar, who exerciſed this new office, firſt in Toulouſe, and afterwards in the other province.

Had this Robert only been a fanatic, there would have been, at leaſt, the appearance of zeal in his miniſtry, which might have excuſed the cruelties he was guilty of, in the eyes of the weak and bigotted; but he was an apoſtate, and carried about with him an abandoned proſtitute, whom he entertained as a miſtreſs, and who, to complete the horrible ſcene, was herſelf an heretic. Thus ſays Matthew Paris and Mouſk; and we find it proved in the Specilegium of Luke d'Acheri.

St. Lewis, king of France, unhappily permitted him to exerciſe his inquiſitional functions in Paris, Champagne, Burgundy and Flanders. He made the king believe, that there was a new ſect ariſen, which privately infeſted theſe provinces. On this pretence, the inhuman monſter condemned to the flames, without mercy, every one, whom he thought proper to ſuſpect, or who had not intereſt or money ſufficient to ranſom themſelves out of his hands. The common people, who are frequently the beſt judges of thoſe who impoſe upon their kings, never gave this Robert any other title than that of Robert the B———r. He was at length diſcovered, and his villanies and infamy brought to light; but what will ſtrike you with a great indignation and aſtoniſhment, is, that he was only condemned to perpetual

tual impriſonment; and, to increaſe your indignation you will find no mention made of this man in father Daniel's hiſtory of France.

In this manner, then, did the inquiſition firſt being in Europe; a beginning truly worthy of the inſtitution itſelf. You are doubtleſs fully ſenſible, that it muſt be the height of brutal and abſurd barbariſm, to maintain by the means of informers and executioners, the religion of a God, who died by the hands of executioners. It is almoſt as contradictory, as to amaſs for one's own private uſe all the riches of a prince and his people, in the name of a God who was born and lived in poverty.

Of the PONTIFICATE in the Thirteenth Century.

Vol. II. chap. li. IN the year 1339, Chriſtopher, king of Denmark, having been depoſed by his nobles and clergy, Magnus, king of Sweden, ſends to the pope, to aſk of him Scania, and ſome other territories. "You know, moſt holy father," ſays he, in his letter to the pontiff, "that the kingdom of Denmark "depends altogether on the church of Rome, to whom "it pays tribute, and not on the empire." This pontiff, to whom the king of Sweden was a ſuitor, and whoſe temporal juriſdiction over all the ſovereigns of the earth, he ſo fully acknowledges, was James Fournier, Benedict XII. who then reſided at Avignon. However, the name is not material: the queſtion is, to ſhew that every prince who had a mind to uſurp or recover any dominion, always addreſſed himſelf to the pope as his maſter. Benedict ſided with the king of Denmark, and returned for anſwer to the above letter, "That he ſhould "not proceed againſt that prince, till he had ſummoned "him to appear before him, agreeable to the ancient "cuſtoms."

STATE of the SCIENCES in EUROPE in the Thirteenth Century.

IN this century, men paſſed from a ſtate of brutal, to a ſtate of ſcholaſtic ignorance. Albert, ſurnamed the Great, taught the principles of heat, cold, dryneſs, and moiſture; he alſo taught politics *according to the rules of aſtrology, and the influence of the planets*, and morality *by Ariſtotle's logic*.

It often happened that the wiſeſt inſtitutions aroſe only from blindneſs and weakneſs. There is not a more noble and ſplendid ceremony belonging to the church, nor one better calculated to inſpire the common people with a religious awe, than that of the holy ſacrament, or *Corpus Chriſti*. Antiquity could not boaſt any thing equal to it; and yet from whence had it its riſe? A nun of Liege, whoſe name was Moncomillon, dreamt every night that ſhe ſaw a hole in the moon; ſhe had afterwards a viſion, which told her that the moon was the church, and the hole ſignified a feſtival, which was wanting in the church. Upon this a monk, named John, aſſiſted her in compoſing the office of the holy ſacrament: this feſtival was eſtabliſhed at Liege, and in a ſhort time pope Urban X. made it an immoveable feaſt throughout the whole Chriſtian church.

In the twelfth century, the black and white friars formed two great factions, which divided the cities much in the ſame manner as the blue and green factions did the minds of the people in the Roman empire. However, about the thirteenth century, when the Mendicant friars began to grow into credit, the blacks and the whites united againſt theſe new-comers, till at length one half of Europe was raiſed againſt them all. The ſtudies of the ſchools were then, and indeed are at preſent, ſuch ſyſtems of abſurdity, as, were they to be imputed to the people of Taprobania, we ſhould think thoſe people belied. One queſtion was, "Whether "God can produce the univerſal nature of things, and "preſerve

" preſerve it without there being things?" Another, " Whether God can be in a predicate ſenſe, whether " he can communicate his creating power, or render what " he has made not made, and change a married woman " into a virgin?" A third, " Whether each perſon in " the Godhead can aſſume which of the three natures " he pleaſes?" A fourth, " Whether God can be a " beetle or a graſshopper?" A fifth, " Whether God " produces the Son by intellect, or by will; by eſſence, " or by attribute; naturally, or of his free will?" And the doctors, who reſolved theſe curious queſtions, called themſelves the great, the ſubtle, the angelic, the irrefragable, the ſolemn, the enlightened, the univerſal, and the profound. Theſe doctors were to the ancient fathers, what a pretender to wit is to man of ſolid learning.

OF SPAIN.

Vol. II. chap. liii. page 87, 88.

THE kings of Caſtille, in the twelfth century, ſtill continued to take the title of emperor of Spain. Alphonſo, count of a part of Portugal, was their vaſſal while he was weak; but as ſoon as he found himſelf maſter, by right of arms, of a conſiderable province, he erected himſelf into an independent ſovereign. The king of Caſtille made war againſt him as a rebellious vaſſal; but the new king of Portugal ſubmitted himſelf and his crown to the holy ſee, in like manner as the Normans, who became vaſſals to Rome, for the kingdom of Naples. Eugenius III. confers, that is, gives the kingly dignity to Alphonſo and his poſterity, for an annual tribute of two pounds weight of gold. Pope Alexander III. his ſucceſſor, confirms this donation, on condition of the ſame payment. Theſe popes then actually gave kingdoms. The eſtates of Portugal being convoked at Lamego by Alphonſo, in order to frame laws for the government of his new kingdom, began by reading the bull of pope Eugenius III. which beſtowed the crown on Alphonſo; therefore they conſidered it as the principal right of their ſovereignty. This is an additional

ditional proof of the cuſtoms and prejudices of theſe times. No new prince dared to aſſume the title of ſovereign, nor could be acknowledged ſuch by other ſovereigns, without the permiſſion of the pope; and the baſis of all the hiſtory of the middle age, is always, that the popes looked upon themſelves as lords paramount of every ſtate, without exception, in virtue of being the pretended ſucceſſors of Jeſus Chriſt; and the German emperors, on their ſide, pretended to think, and even declared, in all their public writings, that the ſeveral kingdoms of Europe were only branches that had been torn from their empire, becauſe they pretended to be ſucceſſors to the Cæſars. In the mean time, the Spaniards were taken up with eſtabliſhing more real rights.

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Id. page 184.] Alphonſo the Wiſe, in his book of laws, intitled *Las Partedas*, ſays, "That the deſpotic "monarch tears up the tree, and the wiſe monarch "prunes it."

Of PHILIP the FAIR, And of POPE BONIFACE VIII.

Vol. II. chap. lii. YOU may already have obſerved, that, after the death of Charlemagne, there was not one pontiff who had not ſome intricate and violent diſpute with the emperors and kings. You will ſee likewiſe, that thoſe diſputes, which are the neceſſary conſequences of the moſt abſurd form of government to which mankind ever ſubmitted, continued till the age of Lewis XIV. This abſurdity conſiſted in making a foreigner maſter at home, and in abſolutely permitting this foreigner to diſpoſe of fiefs in your own country; in not being able to receive any part of the revenue of thoſe fiefs, without the permiſſion of this foreigner, and admitting him to a ſhare in them; in being continually expoſed to ſee thoſe very temples, which you yourſelf built and endowed, ſhut up by his orders, and all conſenting, that one part of your ſubjects ſhould be obliged

obliged to go and plead their cauſe at the diſtance of three hundred leagues from their own country. Theſe, however, are but ſlight links of thoſe fetters with which the crowned heads of Europe inſenſibly, and almoſt without knowing it, loaded themſelves and their ſubjects. At preſent, it is well known, that if any one was to propoſe to his ſovereign or his council to ſubmit to ſuch cuſtoms, he would be looked upon as a madman: the yoke, which firſt appeared light, increaſed in weight every day. It was found neceſſary to alleviate it; but mankind had neither wiſdom, knowledge, nor reſolution enough to throw it off altogether.

Pope Boniface VIII. by a bull which had been a long time famous, had decreed, "That no perſon in holy or-"ders was to pay any thing to the king his maſter, with-"out the expreſs commiſſion of the ſovereign pontiff." Philip king of France did not dare immediately to order this bull to be burned; and therefore contented himſelf with iſſuing an ordinance, prohibiting the carrying of money out of the kingdom, without making any mention of Rome therein. Negociations were ſet on foot upon this occaſion: the pope, to gain time, canonized St. Lewis; and from thence the monks concluded, that the man, who could thus diſpoſe of a place in heaven, might equally well diſpoſe of the riches of the earth.

The king pleaded before the archbiſhop of Narbonne at Senlis, againſt the biſhop of Pamiers, by the mouth of his chancellor Peter Flotta; and the chancellor went in perſon to Rome, to lay before the pope an account of the proceedings. The kings of Cappadocia and Bythinia were uſed to act in the ſame manner towards the Roman republic; but Flotta did more than they; for he ſpake to the pope as the miniſter of a real ſovereign to an imaginary one; expreſſing himſelf in theſe very words, "That the kingdom of France was of this "world, but that of the popes was not."

Nevertheleſs, the pope had the preſumption to take offence at this, and writes a brief to the king, in which he thus expreſſes himſelf: "Know that you are in ſub-"jection to us, not only in ſpiritual, but alſo in tem-

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" poral matters." A judicious and learned hiſtorian remarks very aptly, that this brief was preſerved in an ancient MS. in the library of St. Germain des Prés in Paris, but that the leaf has been torn out; yet there is ſtill a table of contents, that points out the place where it was, and an extract, which preſerves the remembrance of it.

To this extraordinary letter, Philip returned as extraordinary an anſwer, which was as follows: " To Bo-" niface, the pretended pope, little or no health. Be " it known to your moſt ſupreme vanity, that we are " in ſubjection to no one in temporal matters." The hiſtorian above-mentioned obſerves, that this anſwer of the king is preſerved in the Vatican. This ſhews, that the modern Romans have been more careful in preſerving curious things, than the Benedictines of Paris. Some have vainly diſputed the authenticity of theſe letters. I do not ſuppoſe, that they were ever ſent with the cuſtomary formalities, or preſented in form; but there is not the leaſt doubt of their having been written.

The pontiff threw out bulls upon bulls, all aſſerting the pope to be maſter of all kingdoms; and that the king of France, if he did not forthwith yield obedience to him, ſhould be excommunicated, and his kingdom put under an interdict, that is to ſay, a total ſtop put to all religious duties, even to baptiſm and the burial of the dead. It appears the height of contradiction the mind of man can be capable of, that a Chriſtian biſhop, who pretends, that all of the ſame faith are his ſubjects, ſhould want to hinder theſe pretended ſubjects from being Chriſtians, and thus deprive himſelf at once of what he looks upon as his own property. But you will eaſily judge, that the pope depended on the weakneſs of mankind in general, and flattered himſelf, that the French would be ready enough to ſacrifice their king, to the dread of being deprived of the ſacraments; but here he was for once miſtaken. They burned his bull, and the kingdom of France took arms againſt the pope, but without rejecting the papal authority.

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You have ſeen the popes give away the empire, Arragon, England, Sicily, and almoſt every other kingdom. That of France had not as yet been transferred by a bull. But now Boniface put it on a footing with other ſtates, and made a donation of it to the emperor Albert of Auſtria, whom he had ſome time before excommunicated, and who was now his dearly beloved ſon, and a prop of the church. Obſerve only theſe words of his bull: "We beſtow on you, by the plenitude of our power, ——— the kingdom of "France, which belongs of right to the emperors of "the Weſt." Here Boniface and his Datary did not certainly give themſelves time to think: for if France belonged of right to the emperor, there was no room for the exertion of this plenitude of power. There was, however, ſome ſhadow of reaſon in this abſurdity; it flattered the pretenſions of the empire in all the dominions eaſt: for you will always find, that the German civilians were of opinion, or pretended to be ſo, that the Roman ſtate, having delivered up itſelf, together with its biſhop, to Charlemagne, all the Weſt, of conſequence, belonged to his ſucceſſors; and that the other ſtates were only branches torn from the empire.

Had Albert of Auſtria had an army of 200,000 men, it is certain that he would have taken advantage of Boniface's bounty; but being poor, and not well ſettled on his throne, he left his holineſs to be laughed at for his ridiculous donation.

Id. page 95.] The king of France joined the houſe of Collonna, who cared as little for excommunication as himſelf; and who frequently checked in Rome that very power, which was ſo formidable in other places.

Ibidem.] The popes, who wanted to be too powerful, were, as you ſee, conſtantly giving away kingdoms, and perſecuted themſelves at home.

Id.

Id. page 96.] Philip the Fair was ſo far from perſecuting the memory of Pope Boniface, that he contented himſelf with barely warding off the ſtroke of excommunication, levelled by this Boniface, againſt him and his ſubjects; and even ſuffered Nogaret, who had ſo well ſerved him, who had acted wholly in his name, and had avenged him upon Boniface, to be condemned by the ſucceſſor of that pontiff, to perpetual exile, in Paleſtine, ſo that all the noble beginnings of Philip the Fair terminated only in diſgrace. In this great portrait of the world, you will never find a king of France, who in the long-run has got the better of a pope. They may compromiſe matters indeed, but Rome will always be a gainer by the bargain, and France out of pocket. You will find only the parliaments of the kingdom oppoſing with ſteadineſs the artifices of the holy ſee; and that frequently the policy or weakneſs of the cabinet, the exigence of circumſtances, and the intrigues of the monks, will render this ſteadineſs of no effect.

Philip the Fair, in order to give vent to his diſpleaſure, drove all the Jews out of his kingdom, ſeized upon their wealth, and forbad them ever to return again under pain of death. This arret was not iſſued by the parliament; it was in virtue of a ſecret ordinance, ſigned by his privy council, that Philip puniſhed the uſury of the Jews by an act of injuſtice, by which the people thought themſelves revenged, and the king found himſelf enriched.

OF THE KNIGHTS Ttemplars.

Vol. II. chap. page 103.

I DO not know what ſhare accrued to the pope, from the confiſcated eſtates of the Templars; but it is evident, that the expences of the cardinals and inquiſitors, delegated to carry on this ſhocking proceſs, amounted to immenſe ſums. I was perhaps miſtaken, when I read, together with you, the circular letter of Philip the Fair, in which he commands his ſubjects to reſtore the moveables,

Id.

moveables, and other effects of the templars, to the pope's commiſſioners. This ordinance of Philip is related by Peter Dupui. We thought, that the pope had profited by this pretended reſtitution; for to whom can a reſtitution be made, but to thoſe who had been proprietors? Now, in thoſe days the popes were thought to be the maſters of all church-poſſeſſions; however, I have not been able to diſcover that the pope actually received the profits ariſing from the ſpoils of theſe unhappy victims.

OF SWITZERLAND.

Vol. II. chap. lv. page 109.

EQUALITY, the natural inheritance of mankind, ſtill ſubſiſts as much as poſſible in Switzerland; you are not, by this term, to underſtand, that abſurd and impoſſible equality, by which the maſter and the ſervant, the magiſtrate and the artificer, the plaintiff and the judge, are confounded together; but that equality, by which the ſubject depends only on the laws; and which is the defence of the weak, againſt the ambition of the powerful.

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Id. page 207.] There are very few republican ſtates in the world, and theſe are indebted for their liberty to the rocks and ſeas, that ſerve them as bulwarks. Men in general are very ſeldom worthy to have the government of themſelves.

OF THE GOLDEN BULL.

Vol. II. chap. lviii. page 127, 128, 129.

IT is ſaid in this bull, which was drawn up by Bartolus, that the ſeven electors were already eſtabliſhed, therefore they muſt have been but it muſt have been a very ſhort time before, for the prior teſtimonies of the twelfth and thirteenth centuries ſhew us, that till the reign of Frederic II. the emperor was elected by the lords and prelates, poſſeſſors of fefs, and this verſe of Hoved is a convincing proof of it:

Eligit unanimis cleri procerumque voluntas.

"Emperors are elected by the unanimous consent of "the lords and clergy." But as the principal officers of the household were powerful princes, and as these officers had the declaring of the person, who was elected by the plurality of suffrages; and lastly, as they were seven in number, they on the death of Frederic II. assumed a right of nominating him, who was to be their master, and this was the real origin of the seven electors.

Originally the title of steward, master of the horse, and cup-bearer, belonged to the head servants in the royal and other great families. In process of time, these officers assumed the titles of stewards and cup-bearers of the empire. Thus, in France, the person who had the furnishing the king's household with wine, was called the chief butler of France, his master of the pantry, and his cup-bearer, became grand pantlers, and grand cup-bearers of France, though undoubtedly these officers neither served the empire, nor the kingdom of France, with bread, wine or meat. Europe was over-run with these hereditary dignities, and those of marshals, and *grands veneurs*, or great huntsmen and chamberlains of a province, even the title of grand master of the beggars in Champagne, was hereditary in certain families.

The emperor was stiled in the golden bull, the head of the world, *caput orbis*. The dauphin of France, son to the unfortunate king John, assisted at this ceremony, and cardinal Alba took the upper hand of him; so true is it, that at that time Europe was considered as a body which had two heads, and these two heads were the emperor and the pope; the other princes were regarded both in the diets and the conclaves, as no other than members that ought to be vassals. But remark how customs have changed; the electors, who then yielded the precedence to the cardinals, have for a long time taken the upper hands of those, who dared to sit

above the dauphin of France; and then judge, after this, if any thing can be called fixed in the empire.

These various changes in cuſtoms and privileges, and this obſtinacy in maintaining a title, with ſo little power to ſupport it, forms the hiſtory of the lower empire, which the popes erected, by calling in Charlemagne, and afterwards the Otho's, in Italy, when in a weak ſtate. All the popes deſtroyed it as much as they were able; and this body, which was, and ſtill is, called the Holy Roman empire, was in no manner a holy Roman empire.

OF JOHN HUS, &c.

Vol. II. chap. lxi. page 144. A FATHER, of the council of Conſtance, ſaid to John Hus, "If the ſacred council ſhould pro-"nounce you blind, it would not ſignify that you had "two eyes in your head; you muſt acknowledge your-"ſelf blind."

STATE OF EUROPE.

Vol. II. chap. lxii. READ the life of Ezzelino d'Aromano, tyrant of Padua, ſo naturally, and ſo well wrote by Pietro Gerardo, his cotemporary. You will find, that this tyrant put to death upwards of 12,000 citizens of Padua, in the thirteenth century. The pope's legate, who fought againſt him, put to death, at leaſt, as many of the inhabitants of Vicenza, Verona and Ferrara. Ezzelino was at length taken priſoner; and himſelf, with all his family, periſhed by the moſt cruel torments.

OF FRANCE AND ENGLAND, In the Year 1326.

Vol. II. chap. lxiii. page 11. ISABELLA, queen of Edward II. cauſed it to be inſerted in the ſentence pronounced againſt the younger Spenſer,

Spenſer, that he ſhould have thoſe parts cut off, of which he had made a criminal uſe with the king. This part of the ſentence was executed upon him at the gallows, and ſhe had the courage to be preſent while it was performing. Froiſſard makes no difficulty of calling theſe parts by their proper names. What a difference between thoſe days and the preſent civilized times!

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Id. page 12.] One Treſſel made known to Edward III. his depoſition in theſe words, which are ſtill preſerved in the public acts: "I William Treſſel, in be-" half of the parliament and people of England, de-" clare to you, in their name, and by their authority, " that I renounce, revoke, and withdraw, the homage " I have done to you, and deprive you of the kingly " power."

OF THE SALIQUE LAW.

Idem, page 14, &c. IT has always been a cuſtom to ſtrengthen opinions of whatſoever kind, by the authority of the ſacred writings. The followers of the Salique law, quoted this paſſage in St. Matthew, *The lilies toil not, neither do they ſpin*; and from hence concluded, that as it was the buſineſs of the females to ſpin, they ought not to reign in the kingdom of lilies; and yet the lilies do not toil, and a ſovereign muſt. The lions of England, and the towers of Caſtile ‡, do not ſpin any more than the lilies of France; and yet women may ſucceed to the crowns of thoſe two kingdoms. Moreover, the armorial bearings of the kings of France bear no reſemblance to lilies; they appear plainly to be the heads of the old faſhioned pikes or halberds, as we find them deſcribed in the following bad verſe of William the Breton. *Cuſpidis in medio uncum emittit acutum*, The

‡ This alludes to the armorial bearings of England and Spain, the former of which is Gules, three lions paſſant guardant, or; and the latter, quarterly, a lion and a caſtle, for the two provinces of Leon and Caſtile.

ſhield of France has an iron ſpike in the midſt of the halberd.

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Not only the daughters were excluded from the ſucceſſion, but the repreſentative of a daughter's family. It was pretended, that king Edward could not poſſeſs a right by his mother, which ſhe herſelf had not. But there was a more cogent reaſon for preferring a prince of the blood to a foreigner, the native of a country naturally an enemy to France.

Of EDWARD III. in the Year 1338.

Vol. II. ch. lxiii. page 157. THE emperor, Lewis of Bavaria, joined the king of England with more pomp than the brewer, but with leſs advantage to Edward.

And here I would have you attentively remark the prejudice which reigned at that time in the German republic, which was dignified with the title of Roman empire. This Lewis the emperor, who was only in poſſeſſion of Bavaria, inveſted king Edward III. in the city of Cologne, with the dignity of vicar of the empire, in the preſence of almoſt all the Engliſh and German princes and knights. He there declares the king of France to be diſloyal and perfidious, that he has forfeited the protection of the empire, and by this act ſecretly declares Philip of Valois and Edward to be his vaſſals.

The Engliſh monarch ſoon perceived that the title of vicar was as empty in itſelf as that of emperor, when not ſupported by the Germanic body; and he conceived ſuch a diſlike to the German anarchy, that, when he was afterwards offered the empire, he rejected it with diſdain.

The beginning of this war gave a proof of that ſuperiority which the Engliſh nation might one day have on the ſea. Edward was at firſt to endeavour to land in France with a powerful army, and Philip to hinder him. Both monarchs fitted out in a very ſhort time a fleet of one hundred ſhips each. Theſe ſhips, however, were nothing

nothing more than large barks. Edward was not, at that time, like the French king, ſufficiently rich to build them at his own expence. Of the hundred Engliſh ſhips, twenty only belonged to him, the reſt were furniſhed by the ſea-port towns in England. That nation then was ſo poor in ſpecie, that the pay of the prince of Wales was no more than twenty ſhillings per day; that of the biſhop of Durham, one of the admirals, only ſix, and the barons had but four each; however, the pooreſt ſide conquered the richeſt, as is almoſt always the caſe.

Sea-fights, in thoſe days, were more bloody than they are at preſent. They did not indeed uſe cannon, which makes ſo much noiſe, but there were many more killed on all ſides. The ſhips boarded each other at the head or prow, and then letting down a kind of draw-bridge which was faſtened to the ſhrouds, ready for the occaſion, the crews of each fought as upon firm ground. Philip's admirals loſt ſeventy ſhips, and near 20,000 men. This was the prelude to the glory of Edward, and his ſon, the black prince, who gained this battle in their own perſons.

OF THE TAKING OF CALAIS.

Idem, page 158. IT is ſaid that, during the ſiege of this town, Philip of Valois, finding he could not force the beſiegers lines, in a fit of rage propoſed to king Edward to decide this great quarrel by a combat of ſix men on a ſide. Edward, who was not willing to hazard the certain taking of the place on an uncertain combat, refuſed Philip's challenge, as the latter had before done his. We never ſee princes terminating their differences between themſelves, the blood of the people has always flowed on theſe occaſions.

The moſt memorable thing that happened in this ſiege is the right which king Edward reſerved to himſelf by the capitulation, to hang up any ſix of the chief citizens of the place he ſhould pitch upon, and for which there

appears to be no reaſon, as the citizens of Calais were no rebels; but in fact, they might ſuppoſe, that if Edward really wanted to put an halter about their necks, it was not to put them to death by it, for he treated them with great humanity, and made a preſent to each of ſix gold crowns, known by the name of roſe nobles.

If it had been his intention to hang any one, he had perhaps a right to revenge himſelf in this manner on Geofry de Charni, who, after the ſurrender of the town, endeavoured to corrupt the Engliſh governor by an offer of 20,000 crowns, and who was taken as he was coming out of the gates, together with the chevalier Euſtace de Ribaumont. This Ribaumont, in the fight, ſtruck king Edward to the ground. The ſame day that monarch entertained both of them at his own table, and preſented Ribaumont with a coronet of pearls, which he himſelf placed on his head. It is therefore unjuſt to ſuppoſe, that he had ever an intention to hang ſix citizens, who had fought courageouſly in the defence of their country.

Death of EDWARD III. in 1377.

Vol. II. ch. lxvi. page 186

EDWARD, after his victories and conqueſts, ſpent his time in nothing but tournaments: enamoured of a woman unworthy of his affection, he ſacrificed to her his intereſt and his glory, and at length loſt all the fruits of his toils and atchievements in France. He was wholly taken up with diverſions, tournaments, and inſtituting his order of the garter. The famous round table ſet up by him at Windſor, and to which all the knights in Europe were invited, gave the firſt riſe to all the fabulous ſtories of the knights of the round table, which romance writers fictitiouſly attribute to king Arthur. At length Edward, after having outlived his fame and good fortune, died in the arms of his miſtreſs, Alice Pierce, who, while ſhe was cloſing his eyes, ſtole the jewels he wore about him, and even the ring from off his finger. It is difficult to ſay which died moſt miſerable, the conqueror, or the conquered.

Of

Of RICHARD II. King of England in the year 1399.

Idem, page 192. RICHARD II. was depoſed according to law. He was tried by the parliament as Edward II. had been. The charge brought in form againſt him has been preſerved: among other things, he was accuſed of having borrowed money without repaying it; of having kept ſpies, and of having ſaid, that he was maſter of the eſtates of his ſubjects. He was condemned as an enemy to the liberties of mankind, and a traitor.

THE SALIQUE LAW ABOLISHED.

Vol. II. ch. lxvii.* page 200. HERE, then, we ſee the Salique law aboliſhed, the lawful heir to the crown diſinherited and proſcribed, and the ſon-in-law reigning peaceably, and taking away the inheritance from his brother-in-law, in like manner as we have ſince ſeen William prince of Orange, a foreigner, diſpoſſeſſing his wife's father of the crown of England. If this revolution had been as durable as ſome others, and had the ſucceſſors of Henry V. ſupported the edifice, which had been raiſed by their father, and continued in poſſeſſion of the throne of France, where is the hiſtorian who would have thought of diſputing the juſtice of their cauſe? Mezeray, in this caſe, would not have aſſerted, that Henry V. died of the piles, with which he had been afflicted as a puniſhment, for having ſeated himſelf on the throne of the French kings. The popes would have ſent bulls upon bulls to the ſucceſsful uſurpers of that throne. They would have been all the anointed of the Lord, and the ſalique law would have been treated as an idle chimera. What crouds of Benedictines would have been ready to have preſented the deſcendents of Henry V. with old vouchers

* After the murder of the duke of Burgundy, and the acceſſion of Henry V. to the crown of France.

againſt this law? and how many brilliant wits would have employed their talents in turning it into ridicule? while the moſt celebrated preachers would have exalted to the ſkies Henry, as the avenger of innocent blood, and the deliverer of France.

OF CHARLES VII. KING OF FRANCE.

Vol. II. ch. lxviii. *LET the inhabitants of an extenſive city, where peace, pleaſure, and the polite arts, reign in all their luſtre, and where reaſon begins every day to gain ground; let them, I ſay, compare theſe with former times, and complain if they dare. It is neceſſary to make ſome ſuch reflection at almoſt every page of this hiſtory.

Id. page 206 J It was not till the year 1437, that Charles VII. made his entry into Paris. The citizens, who had ſignalized themſelves by ſo many maſſacres, went forth to meet him with all the demonſtrations of affection and joy that were in uſe among a people then uncivilized. Seven young women, perſonating the ſeven ſins which are called mortal, and a like number of others to perſonate the divine and cardinal virtues, each carrying a ſcroll in her hand, received him at St. Denis's gate. He ſtopt ſome time there to ſee the repreſentation of ſome religious myſteries, which were played by ſtrollers mounted upon ſtools. The inhabitants of this capital were at that time poorer than the meaneſt labourers are now, and the people of the provinces were ſtill more ſo. It required more than twenty years to reform the ſtate.

† This relates to the puniſhment of Joan of Arc, marſhal of France, &c. &c.

OF

OF MANNERS AND CUSTOMS in the 13th and 14th centuries.

Vol. II. ch. lxix. page 212, &c. THE following circumſtance is alone ſufficient to ſhow the great ſcarcity of money at that time *, both in Scotland and England, as well as the ruſticity, commonly called ſimplicity, of thoſe days. We read in the public acts, that when the kings of Scotland came to the Engliſh court, they had thirty ſhillings per day aſſigned them for their maintenance, 12 loaves, 12 cakes, and 30 bottles of wine.

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Id. page 216.] The biſhops had, for a long time, been accuſtomed never to go abroad without a great number of ſervants and horſes to attend them. A council held at Lateran, in the year 1179, in the pontificate of pope Alexander III. reproaches them, that when they went to viſit the monaſteries, theſe latter were frequently obliged to ſell all their church plate to defray the expences of their reception. The retinue of the archbiſhops was contracted by the canons of the councils to 50 horſes, that of the biſhops to 30, that of the cardinals to 25; for a cardinal, who was not at the ſame time biſhop, and conſequently had no church-lands, could not ſupport the pomp of a biſhop. This magnificence in the prelates appeared more hateful than it does at preſent, becauſe there was not then any middle rank between the great and the mean, the rich and the poor. It was only the help of time that formed that middling rank, which at preſent make the riches of a nation.

† At the beginning of the 14th century.

OF THE ARTS AND SCIENCES,

in the 13th and 14th centuries.

Idem, page 213. THE dramatic art did not exiſt in theſe days. In Italy they were acquainted with nothing of the kind, but certain ſimple repreſentations of ſome particular ſtories in the Old and New Teſtament, and from thence the cuſtom of playing myſteries paſſed into France. Theſe exhibitions came originally from Conſtantinople, where they had been introduced by the poet St. Gregory Nazianzen, in oppoſition to the dramatic pieces of the ancient Greeks and Romans; and as the choruſſes in the Greek tragedies were religious hymns, and their theatre held a ſacred part, Gregory, and his ſucceſſors, compoſed ſacred tragedies; but unhappily this new theatre had by no means that pre-eminence over the ſtage of Athens, which the Chriſtian religion had over that of the Gentiles. There are ſtill ſome remains of theſe pious farces in the ſtrolling theatres, which to this day exhibit the ſtory of the ſhepherds. On holidays, or other times of religious feſtivals, they repreſented the birth and ſuffering of our Saviour. Theſe cuſtoms were ſoon adopted by the common people in the northern nations. Theſe ſubjects have ſince been treated in a more ſuitable manner, of which we have inſtances in thoſe little operas, which are known by the name of oratorio's and the French have exhibited the moſt maſterly productions on their ſtage, taken from ſtories in the Old Teſtament.

The brotherhood of the paſſion in France, towards the end of the 15th century, brought Jeſus Chriſt in perſon upon the ſtage. Had the French language been then as majeſtic and pure, as it was low and grovelling, if among ſo many dull and illiterate perſons, there had been one man of genius, it is not improbable that the death and ſufferings of a juſt and a righteous perſon, perſecuted by Jewiſh prieſts, and condemned by a Roman prætor, might have furniſhed matter for a ſublime work;

work; but this required an enlightened age, and such an age would not have permitted these kinds of representations.

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Du Cange, and his continuers, (very exact compilers) quote a manuscript, upwards of 500 years old, in which is found the following hymn of the ass:

Orientis partibus
Adventavit asinus
Pulcher et fortissimus.

A young damsel, representing the mother of God, journeying into Egypt, mounted on this ass, and holding a young child in her arms, led the procession; and at the end of the mass, instead of repeating the words, *Ite, missa est*, the priest set a braying as loud as he could stretch his lungs, and the people answered him with the same cry.

This more than savage superstition had nevertheless its origin in Italy. And although, in the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries, some few Italians began to emerge from darkness, yet the populace in general continued plunged in ignorance. They had entertained a notion at Verona, that the ass which carried our Saviour had walked upon the sea, and had come through the gulph of Venice, as far as the banks of the Adige, where Jesus assigned him a certain field for pasturage, in which he lived a long time, and in which he afterwards died. The bones of this animal were inclosed within a case, made in the shape of an ass, which was deposited in the church of Notre Dame des Orgues, or our Lady of the Organs, under the care of four canons; and these reverend relics were carried about three times a year.

This ass of Verona was the making of the house of our lady of Loretto. Pope Boniface VIII. seeing that the procession of the ass brought such a concourse of strangers, bethought himself that the Virgin Mary's house must certainly bring still a greater number; and in this he was not deceived. He accordingly gave his apostolic sanction to this fable. And the people, who were

were capable of believing, that the aſs walked upon the ſea, from Jeruſalem to Verona, were eaſily perſuaded, that the Virgian Mary's houſe might have been tranſported from Nazareth to Loretto. This little houſe was incaſed in a magnificent church, and in a ſhort time, by the pilgrimages of devotees, and the preſents of ſeveral crowned heads, this temple became as rich as that of Epheſus. The Italians, at leaſt, found their market in the blind ſuperſtition of other nations; but at the ſame time they gave into this ſuperſtition themſelves, by following the popular prejudice, and the ſpirit of the times. You may have had many occaſions to obſerve that enthuſiaſm, to which mankind have a natural propenſity, has ſerved to render them not only more ſtupid, but alſo more wicked. Pure religion ſoftens the manners by enlightening the underſtanding; and, on the contrary, ſuperſtition, by blinding the judgment, inſpires rage and cruelty.

There was at that time in Normandy, which is called the country of wiſdom, an abbot of the cuckolds, who uſed to traverſe through many towns in a kind of chair, drawn by four horſes, with a mitre on his head, and a croſier in his hand, diſpenſing benedictions, and iſſuing mandates.

There was alſo a king of the ſtews eſtabliſhed at court by patent. He was originally the chief or judge of a petty guard belonging to the palace, and afterwards a court-fool, who uſed to exact a certain fee from all the pick-pockets and night-walkers. There was not a town but what had a ſociety of artificers, burghers, and even of women among whom the moſt extravagant ceremonies were ſtamped with the title of religious myſteries; and from hence come the fraternity of free-maſons, an inſtitution which has bade defiance to time, the great leveller of all others.

The moſt contemptible, though at the ſame time the moſt numerous, of all theſe fraternities, was that of the flagellants or floggers; it had its firſt origin in the inſolence of ſome prieſts, who took advantage of the weakneſs of public penitents, ſo far as to ſcourge them. We ſee the remains of this brutal cuſtom, in the little wands

or

or ſwitches, which the penitentiaries at Rome carry in their hands, on the days of any ſolemn proceſſion. The monks, at length, came to ſcourge themſelves, on a ſuppoſition that nothing could be more pleaſing to God, than the welted back of a brawny friar. In the eleventh century, one Peter Damien perſuaded ſeveral of the laity to exerciſe this diſcipline on themſelves ſtark naked. In 1260, there were ſeveral fraternities of pilgrims, who came through all Italy armed with rods and diſciplines. They at length made the tour of one half of Europe. This aſſociation, in time, grew up into a ſect, which it was found neceſſary to ſuppreſs.

INFRANCHISEMENTS, PRIVILEGES, &c.

Vol. II. chap. lxx. page 228.

ST. Lewis ennobled his ſurgeon La Broſſe, by making him his chamberlain.

In Venice, Genoa, and other republics, though the people had no ſhare in the government, yet they were never held in ſlavery. The citizens of Italy were very different from the burghers of the countries of the north; the burghers in Germany and in France were dependents on a lord, a biſhop, or the king, and belonged to one man; but the citizens of Italy belonged only to the republic.

OF THE PARLIAMENT OF PARIS, till the Reign of CHARLES VII.

Vol. II. chap. lxxii. page 236.

THE parliament did not repreſent the nation, for to do this, it muſt be either nominated by the nation, or have an inherent right in its own perſon. The officers of the parliament (the peers excepted) were named by the king, paid by the king, and removeable by the king.

The

The deſcendents of lawyers are not to this day admitted into the chapters in Germany. It is a relict of ancient barbariſm to annex a mark of degradation to one of the moſt noble functions of humanity, that of the diſtribution of juſtice.

It may be ſaid, in anſwer to this, that it is not the function of diſtributing juſtice that is deemed derogatory, ſince the peers of the realm, and even ſovereigns themſelves, have executed this function; but that certain men of a low extraction, having been at firſt introduced into the parliament of Paris, ſolely to carry on the cauſes, and not to give their voices, and having afterwards aſſumed the rights and privileges of nobles, to whom alone it belonged to be the judges of the people, they ought not to be admitted to ſhare thoſe honours, which appertain incommunicably to the body of nobles. The famous Fenelon, archbiſhop of Cambray, in a letter to the French academy, ſays, that a perſon to be qualified to write the hiſtory of France, ſhould be well verſed in the ancient cuſtoms of the nation, and that he ſhould, know that the counſellors of parliament were originally ſerfs or vaſſals, who had ſtudied the laws of their country, and who aſſiſted the nobles with their advice in the court of parliament. This may be true, in reſpect to ſome who raiſed themſelves by their merit; but it is ſtill a greater truth, that the major part of the counſellors were not ſerfs, but the ſons of creditable burghers, who had been a long time infranchiſed, and lived as freemen under the king, whoſe burghers they were. This order of citizens has undoubtedly at all times, and in every country, better opportunities of acquiring a knowledge in their profeſſion, than perſons born in ſlavery.

This court was, as you know, the ſame as that which in England is called the court of King's-Bench. The Engliſh kings, who were vaſſals to thoſe of France, imitated all the cuſtoms of their lords paramount. There was a king's attorney in the parliament of Paris, and there is one in the court of King's Bench in England. The chancellor of France may preſide in the French

French parliament; the chancellor of England may do the ſame in the King's-Bench ‡. The king, and the houſe of lords in England, may ſet aſide the decrees of the court of King's-bench; in like manner as the king of France, with his council of ſtate, ſets aſide the arrets of the parliament; and as he likewiſe might with the high barons, and the nobles in the general aſſembly of the ſtates, which are the parliament of the nation. The court of King's-Bench cannot enact laws; neither can the parliament of Paris. The very word *Bench* ſhews the great affinity between theſe courts; the bench of preſidents ſtill retains its name with us, and is now called the *High* or *Upper Bench*.

We have already remarked, that the form of the Engliſh government has not changed like ours. The general aſſembly of the Engliſh ſtates has always ſubſiſted; they have ſhared in the legiſlation: whereas ours, by being ſo rarely convoked, are grown out of uſe. The courts of juſtice, which we call parliaments, having become perpetual, and being conſiderably increaſed, have inſenſibly acquired, partly by the conceſſion of the kings, and partly by cuſtom, and even the unhappineſs of the times, certain privileges which they never enjoyed, either under Philip the Fair, his ſons, or Lewis XI.

The chief diſtinction of the parliament of Paris, above the other courts of parliament, ariſes from the cuſtom, which the kings of France introduced, of having all their treaties and edicts regiſtered in the chamber of parliament, during its ſeſſion, as the moſt authentic depoſitory; in other reſpects, this chamber never interfered in any affairs of ſtate, or of the revenues. Whatever regarded the regal revenue, or the impoſition of taxes, was inconteſtibly the department of the chamber of accompts. The firſt remonſtrances of the parliament, touching the revenue, was in the reign of Francis I.

All things are more ſubject to change in France, than in any other nation: there was an ancient cuſtom, by which

‡ For a refutation of this miſtaken notion of M. de Voltaire, ſee note to chap. lxiv. page 171. of Vol II. of the General Hiſtory.

which no arret, inflicting bodily puniſhment, could be executed, till ſuch arret was ſigned by the king. This cuſtom is ſtill in force in England, and many other ſtates; and nothing can be more juſt and humane. Fanaticiſm, party-fury and ignorance have condemned many innocent citizens to loſe their lives. Theſe citizens belong to the king, that is to ſay, to the ſtate; but by theſe practices the country is robbed of a ſubject, and his family is rendered infamous, without the perſon, who is the repreſentative of that country, knowing any thing of the matter. How many innocent perſons have we ſeen accuſed of hereſy, witchcraft, and a thouſand imaginary crimes, whoſe lives might have been ſaved by a king of knowledge and underſtanding.

But Charles VI. was ſo far from being ſuch a perſon, that he was in that deplorable ſituation, which makes a man the ſport of his fellow-creatures.

Of the ſeeming UNION of the GREEK and LATIN CHURCHES.

Vol. II. chap. lxxiii. page 241.

THE Greek emperor, with his patriarch, and almoſt all the other prelates, ſubſcribed at Florence to the long diſputed point of the primacy of the biſhop of Rome. The Bezantine hiſtory affirms, that the pope bribed them to ſign this acknowledgment. This is not improbable. It was the pope's intereſt to gain this advantage at any price; and the biſhops of a country, that had been a prey to the ravages of the Turks, muſt have been poor.

This union of the Latins and Greeks was indeed but tranſitory. It was a game played by the emperor John II. ſurnamed Paleologus. The whole Greek church diſowned what had been done; and the biſhops who had ſubſcribed at Florence, aſked pardon for their proceedings, at Conſtantinople, and acknowledged, that they had betrayed the true faith. They were on this occaſion compared to Judas, who betrayed his maſter, and were not readmitted into the boſom of their church, till

till they had formally abjured the innovations with which the Latins were accuſed.

The Latin and Greek churches were, after this, more divided than ever. The Greeks, always vain of their boaſted antiquity, their firſt general councils, and their ſciences, increaſed in their hatred and contempt for the Romiſh communion. They made all the Latins, who came over to them, to be baptized anew, and from hence came the cuſtom obſerved by the Ruſſian prieſts at Peterſburg and Riga, to oblige a Roman catholic, who embraces the Greek religion, to undergo a ſecond baptiſm. Several ſtruck extreme unction out of the number of the ſacraments, and they were one and all againſt the proceſſion of the Holy Ghoſt, and the communicating in one kind only; and in fact, it is certain that they differ as much from the church of Rome, as the proteſtants do.

Nevertheleſs, pope Eugenius IV. was thought by the whole weſt to have exinguiſhed this great ſchiſm. He had indeed brought the Greek emperor, and his church, under a ſeeming ſubjection.

OF THE COUNCIL OF BASIL.

Idem, page 242. THE council of Baſil was the firſt that forbade the popes to make more than twenty-four cardinals. They did not conſider, that, by leſſening the number, they increaſed the power; and that the more rare any dignity is, the more it is reſpected.

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Id. page 243.] Amadæus VIII. duke of Savoy, contented himſelf with being a cardinal. This was the twenty-ſeventh, and laſt conſiderable ſchiſm, that had been raiſed for the poſſeſſion of St. Peter's chair. Never was the throne of any kingdom ſo often diſputed.

Æneas Picolomini, the Florentine poet and orator, who was ſecretary to this council, had written very violently in ſupport of the ſuperiority of councils over the popes; but after he was made pope himſelf, under the name of Pius II. he condemned, ſtill more violently,

ly, his own writings, ſacrificing every conſideration to that of preſent intereſt, which ſo frequently makes the principles of truth or falſhood among them. There were ſome other writings of his ſpread abroad. In the fifteenth letter of his collection of letters, publiſhed under the title of *Amænitates*, he recommends one of his baſtards, whom he had by an Engliſh woman. Hence we find, that he did not condemn his amours, as he had condemned his ſentiments on the fallibility of the popes.

THE FALL OF THE GREEK EMPIRE.

Vol. II. chap. lxxiv. page 246. A CONSIDERABLE ſect of monks, and contemplative devotees, ſaw the light of mount Tabor at their navels, as the Indian Faquirs ſaw the heavenly light at the end of their noſes.

Id. page 246.] This duke of Burgundy, who was priſoner to Bajazet, was the ſame John *Sans peur*, or the *Fearleſs*, who murdered the duke of Orleans, and was himſelf afterwards murdered by Charles VII. and yet we boaſt ourſelves more humane and civilized than the Turks!

OF THE TAKING OF CONSTANTINOPLE.

Vol. II. chap. lxxviii. page 266. THIS conqueſt forms a grand epoch. Here begins in reality the Turkiſh empire, in the midſt of Chriſtendom; and at this time ſome of the arts of Greece were firſt tranſported amongſt them.

Id. page 270.] The Turkiſh annals appear to be very true in what they relate of the ſieges of Conſtantinople. Ducas himſelf, who is thought to have been of the Imperial race, and who during his infancy was in the beſieged city, acknowledges in his hiſtory, that the ſultan offered the emperor Conſtantine, to give him Peloponneſus for himſelf, and to grant him ſome ſmall provinces

vinces for his brothers. Mahomet wanted to have poſſeſſion of the city, without ſacking it, as he looked upon it as a part of his property, which he was willing to preſerve ſafe.

Some Particulars concerning CONSTANTINOPLE.

Idem, page 271. NO Chriſtian nation will ſuffer the Turks to have a moſque in it, and yet the Turks give leave to the Greeks to have churches amongſt them; ſeveral of theſe churches are collegiate, and in the Archipelago we ſee canons under the dominion of a baſha.

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Id. page 272.] Some authors have had the weakneſs to relate that Mahomet II. ſaid to the patriarch Gennadius; "The Holy Trinity makes thee, by the authority which I have received, œcumenical patriarch." Theſe writers know very little of the Muſſulmans, and are ignorant, that our doctrine of the Trinity is held by them in the utmoſt abhorrence, inſomuch that they think themſelves defiled by only pronouncing the word, and that they look upon us as idolaters, who worſhip many gods.

OF MAHOMET II.

Chap. lxxix. page 273. HIS fortune failed him before Rhodes. The knights, who are now called the knights of Malta, had as well as Scanderberg the honour of repelling the victorious arms of Mahomet II.

It was in the year 1480, that this conqueror attacked that iſland, formerly ſo famous, and its city, which was founded a very conſiderable time before ancient Rome, in the moſt fertile ſpot, and under the moſt delicious climate; a city which had been governed by the children of Hercules, by Danaus, and by Cadmus, and was famous throughout the whole world for its brazen Coloſſus, dedicated to the ſun. This immenſe work was caſt in braſs by an Indian; it was an hundred feet high, and

and under its legs (each of which reſted on a ſpacious mole of marble) the loftieſt ſhips could ſail in and out of the harbour. Rhodes had fallen under the power of the Saracens about the middle of the ſeventeenth century; a French knight named Foulques de Villaret, grand maſter of the order of Rhodes, took it from them again in 1310; and another French knight, Peter d'Aubuſſon, defended it againſt the Turks.

It is ſomething very remarkable, that Mahomet II. employed a great number of renegado Chriſtians in this expedition. The grand viſir himſelf, who laid ſiege to the place, was a Chriſtian; and what is more ſtrange, of the imperial houſe of the Paleologi. One George Frupan, another Chriſtian, had the direction of the works under the grand viſir's orders: we never find an inſtance of Muſſulmans changing their religion, and ſerving in the Chriſtian armies. But whence this difference? Is it, that a religion, for whoſe ſake they have parted with a portion of their own fleſh, and which they have ſealed with their own blood, in a moſt painful operation, is for that reaſon more dear to them? Is it that the Aſiatic conquerors had more reſpect ſhewn them, than the European powers? Or laſtly, is it that in the times of ignorance, the arms of Muſſulmans were thought to be more favoured of God, than thoſe of Chriſtians, and that hence they inferred the ſucceſsful cauſe to be the beſt?

Peter d'Aubuſſon at this time crowned his with triumph, by obliging the grand viſir Meſſith Paleologus to raiſe the ſiege at the end of three months. Calcondilus tells us, in his hiſtory of the Turks, that, as the beſiegers were mounting the breach, they beheld a golden croſs in the air encircled with a glory, and a moſt beautiful woman robed in white: that, ſtruck with this miraculous appearance, they threw down their arms and took to flight. It ſeems however more probable, that the Turks would have been rather ſtimulated than intimidated with the ſight of a beautiful woman, and that in fact the bravery of d'Aubuſſon and his knights was the only miracle that obliged the Turks to give way.

But

But this is the uſual manner of writing among the modern Greeks.

STATE OF GREECE UNDER THE OTTOMAN EMPIRE.

Idem, page 274, &c.

MOST of the ſtately monuments of Athens, which the ancient Romans imitated, without being able to ſurpaſs, are either in ruin, or totally loſt; a little moſque is now built where the tomb of Themiſtocles ſtood; as we ſee a chapel of the Recollets built upon the ruins of the capitol of Rome. The ancient temple of Minerva is alſo converted into a moſque. The Pirean haven is no more, an antique lion of marble is ſtill left ſtanding near it, and gives its name to the harbour of Porto Leone, which is little better than a heap of rubbiſh. The ſpot where formerly ſtood the academy, is now covered with ſome gardeners hovels. The beautiful remains of the Stadion ſtill inſpire veneration and concern, and the temple of Ceres, which has eſcaped the injury of time, gives us a glimpſe of what Athens formerly was. This city, which conquered the great Perſian monarch Xerxes, contains between 16 and 17,000 inhabitants, who crouch and tremble beneath the power of 1200 Janizaries, who carry nothing but a white wand in their hands. The Spartans, the ancient rivals and conquerors of Athens, are confounded in the general ſubjection. They long ſtruggled for their liberty, and ſtill ſeem to retain ſomewhat of that ferocity and haughtineſs of manners, which Lycurgus taught them.

THE TURKISH GOVERNMENT.

Idem, page 276.

THE Alcoran, which is their civil as well as religious law, does, in the very beginning, (namely in the fourth chapter) provide for the inheritance of the ſons and daughters,

daughters, and the traditional law and eſtabliſhed cuſtom ſupplies whatever is not expreſſed in the Alcoran.

DEATH OF LEWIS XI. in 1483.

Vol. III. chap. lxxx. page 8. IT was one of the abuſes of the ignorant practice of phyſic in thoſe times, which had been introduced by the Jews, to preſcribe the drinking the blood of young children, to old perſons troubled with the apoplexy, leproſy or convulſions.

OF CHIVALRY OR KNIGHTHOOD.

Vol. III. chap. lxxxii. page 17. THE profeſſors of the law erected themſelves into an order, like the true knights at arms: this was a proof of the decline of ancient chivalry. The ſtudents took the name of bachelors, after having maintained a Theſis, and the doctors of law called themſelves knights, a title ridiculous in itſelf, for originally the knight *(Chevalier* or *Cavalier)* was a perſon, who fought armed on horſeback, which certainly could have no kind of connection with a civilian.

OF NOBILITY.

Vol. III. chap. lxxxiii. page 23. AFTER what we have ſaid in relation to feudal government, it remains to explain, as clearly as poſſible, what relates to the nobleſſes, who were a long time the ſole poſſeſſors of fiefs.

The term *noble* at firſt was a title that neither conferred rights, nor was hereditary. *Nobilitas*, among the Romans, ſignified any thing eminent or worthy of notice*, and not an order of citizens. The ſenate was inſtituted

* Hence the line in Juvenal, *Virtus ſola Nobilitas*, may be properly rendered, "Virtue is the only true diſtinction," and not, "the only true nobility."

inſtituted to judge the knights ‡, to fight on horſeback when they were rich enough to keep a horſe; and the Plebeians were frequently knights, and ſometimes ſenators.

Among the Gauls, the government was in the hands of the principal officers of towns, and the Druids, to whom the people paid obedience. Every country has ſomething different in its form of government. Thoſe, who ſay that all men are equal, ſpeak the ſtricteſt truth, if they mean, that all men have an equal right to liberty, to the enjoyment of their own property, and to the protection of the laws. But they would be guilty of a great error, if they thought, that all men ought to be upon an equality in regard to rank and employments, when they are not ſo in regard to their talents or capacities. In this neceſſary inequality of conditions, neither the ancients, nor indeed nine parts out of ten of the habitable globe, were acquainted with any thing that bore the leaſt reſemblance to what we call nobility, as it is now eſtabliſhed in Europe.

The laws and cuſtoms of this order have varied like all other things: we have already ſhewn you, that the moſt ancient hereditary nobility, was that of the Patricians of Venice, who had ſeats in the council, as early as the fifth century, before there was a doge; and if there are any deſcendents of theſe firſt magiſtrates, as it is ſaid, they are undoubtedly the firſt nobles in Europe. It was the ſame in the ancient republics of Italy. This nobility was annexed to dignity and employ, and not to lands.

In every other country, nobility became the portion of thoſe who were poſſeſſed of lands. The Herren of Germany, the Ricos Hombres of Spain, and the barons of France and England, enjoyed an hereditary nobility, merely becauſe their feudal or non feudal lands remained in their families. The titles of duke, count, viſcount,

‡ Called by the Romans *Equites*, from Equus, an horſe, as the French *Chevalier*, and the Spaniſh *Cavaliers*, from Cheval and Cavallo.

count, marquis, were at firſt dignities or offices for life, which afterwards paſſed from father to ſon, ſome ſooner, others later.

Upon the decline of the family of Charlemagne, almoſt all the ſtates of Europe, the republics excepted, were governed as Germany is at preſent; and we have ſeen that every poſſeſſor of a fief exercised ſovereign authority in his own territories, as far as he was able.

It is clear that ſovereigns owed no ſervice to any other, except what the petty ones engaged themſelves to pay to the great. Thus a Caſtellan or ſovereign lord of a caſtle, paid a pair of ſpurs to a viſcount, who paid a falcon to a count, and this laſt ſome other mark of vaſſalage to a duke. Theſe all acknowledged the king of the country for their lord paramount, though he could not impoſe a tax upon any one of them. They owed the ſervice of their perſons, becauſe they fought for their lands and for themſelves, in fighting for the ſtate, and the chief of the ſtate; and hence it comes that, at preſent, the new nobles, or thoſe, who have been ennobled, without being poſſeſſors of lands, do not pay the tax laid upon landholders, and known by the name of *Taille*.

The maſters of caſtles and lands, who compoſed the body of nobles in all countries, except in the republics, endeavoured as much as poſſible to enſlave the inhabitants of their lands; but the great towns always oppoſed them in this, as the magiſtrates of theſe towns would upon no account be the ſerfs or vaſſals of a count, a baron, or a biſhop, and much leſs of an abbot, who arrogated to himſelf the ſame honours as a baron, or a count. The cities on the Rhine and the Rhone, and others of greater antiquity, ſuch as Autun, Arles, and particularly Marſeilles, flouriſhed long before there were either lords or prelates. Their magiſtracy was ſeveral centuries prior to the exiſtence of fiefs; but the barons and caſtellans got the better, almoſt every where, of the citizens; and although the magiſtrates were not ſerfs of the lord, they were at leaſt his burghers; and hence it comes that in many ancient charters we find

ſheriffs

ſheriffs *(echevins)* and mayors, entitle themſelves burghers of a count, or a biſhop, and king's burghers. Theſe burghers could not change their habitation without the permiſſion of their lord, and paying a conſiderable fine. This kind of ſervitude is ſtill in force in Germany.

In like manner as the fiefs were diſtinguiſhed into frank fiefs, which owed no ſervice to the lord paramount, and into great and little fiefs, which did owe ſervice; ſo there were alſo *French burghers*, that is to ſay, thoſe who purchaſed the right of exemption from all ſervice to their lord; *grand burghers*, who were poſſeſſed of civil employs, and *petty burghers*, who in many reſpects were ſlaves.

This form of government, which had been raiſed by inſenſible degrees, fell to decay in like manner, in ſeveral countries, and in others were entirely aboliſhed.

The kings of France, for example, at firſt ennobled the burghers, by conferring on them titles without lands. It is ſaid there was found among the collection of charters of France, letters of nobility, granted by Philip I. in 1095, to a burgher of Paris, named Eudes le Maire; and St. Lewis undoubtedly made his barber, La Broſſe, noble, in creating him his camberlain. Philip III. who ennobled his banker Raoul, was not, as ſome ſay, the firſt king who aſſumed the privilege of changing the condition of his ſubjects. Philip the Fair did, in like manner, beſtow the title of noble and eſquire, *miles*, on the burgher Bertrand, and ſome others. This example was followed by all other crowned heads. In the year 1339, Philip of Valois ennobled Simon de Luci, perſident of the parliament, and his wife Nicole Taupin.

In 1350, king John ennobled William de Dormans, his chancellor; for, at this time, the office of clerk, lawyer, or of the long robe, gave no rank among nobility, notwithſtanding that the clerks aſſumed the title of knights of the law, and bachelors of law. Thus we find John Paſtourel, the king's advocate, ennobled, together with his wife Sédille, by Charles V. in 1354.

On the other hand, the kings of England created counts and barons, who had neither county nor barony. The emperors exerciſed the ſame privilege in Italy; and after their example, the poſſeſſors of great fiefs took the ſame liberty. We have even an inſtance of a count de Foix, who aſſumed the power of ennobling, and by this means of correcting the deficiency of fortune in birth. He granted a patent of nobility to one maſter Bertrand, his chancellor, and the deſcendents of this Bertrand called themſelves noble; but it was at the option of the king and the reſt of the nobles to acknowledge this title or not. Private lords of Orange, of Saluces, and many others, aſſumed the ſame licence.

The military body of Frank-archers and *Taupins*, in the reign of Charles VII. being exempted from the payment of taxes, thereupon aſſumed the titles of noble, and eſquire, without any permiſſion, and theſe titles were afterwards confirmed by time, which eſtabliſhes and overturns all cuſtoms and privileges; and ſeveral great families in France are deſcendents of theſe Taupins, who made themſelves noble, and who merited that title on having ſerved their country.

The emperors not only created nobles without lands, but counts palatine alſo. This title was given to the doctors of the univerſities. The emperor, Charles IV. firſt introduced this cuſtom, and Bartolus was the firſt on whom he conferred the title of count, which, however, did no more entitle the deſcendents of this Bartolus to a ſeat in the chapters, than it would thoſe of the Taupins.

The popes, who pretended to be ſuperior to the emperor, thought it concerned their dignity to create palatines and marquiſſes alſo; and the legates, who governed the provinces belonging to the holy ſee, were very laviſh in conferring theſe titles; hence it comes that there are ſo many more counts and marquiſſes in Italy than feudal lords.

In France, after Philip the Fair had eſtabliſhed the court called parliament, the lords of fiefs, who had ſeats in that court, were obliged to avail themſelves of the aſſiſtance of clerks, taken either from among the lower rank of people, or the bodies of frank, grand, or petty burghers. Theſe clerks quickly aſſumed the title of knights and bachelors, in imitation of the nobility; but it is plain, that the title of knight, which was given them by their clients, did not make them nobles at court, ſince the attorney-general Paſtourel, and the chancellor Dormans, were obliged to take letters (patents) of nobility for themſelves. The ſtudents of the univerſities took the title of bachelor, after paſſing one examination, and that of licentiate after the ſecond, not daring to aſſume that of knight.

It may appear to have been a great contradiction, that the profeſſors of the law, who had a right to ſit in judgment on the nobles, ſhould not themſelves enjoy the right of nobility. This however was really the caſe in all countries; but in France indeed, they enjoyed the ſame privilege of exemption as the nobles, during their own lives. It is true, that their rights did not entitle them to ſit in the general aſſembly of the ſtates, as lords of fiefs, to carry a bird on their fief, or to ſerve in perſon in the field, but only conſiſted in not paying the taille, and in being called *Meſſire* *.

France has been always remarkable for the mutability of its laws and cuſtoms, the former of which have never been ſufficiently clear and well underſtood. The bar has always been in a fluctuating ſtate. The courts of juſtice, which the French call parliaments, have frequently determined on the pretenſions of children of officers of the long robe to the right of nobility. In 1540 the parliament of Paris decreed, that the children of the king's attorney, Jean le Maitre, had a right to inherit as noble. Afterwards, namely in 1578, it gave

* A complimentary term, much like that of *Your Worſhip*, given to our juſtices of the peace.

a like decree in favour of a chancellor, named Menager: but the civilians were divided in their opinion concerning theſe rights, which had been inſenſibly annexed to the long robe by cuſtom. Louet, a counſellor of the parliament, pretended that the children of magiſtrates could inherit only as commoners, and that none but grand-children were intitled by birth-right to the rank of gentlemen.

The court, however, did not regulate its opinion by that of the civilians; for, in the year 1582, Henry III. declared, by an edict, "That no one, except thoſe of "a noble houſe and family, ſhould preſume thenceforth "to take the title of noble, or name of eſquire."

Henry IV. ſhewed himſelf leſs ſtrict and more juſt, when, in his edict concerning the regulation of the taxes, iſſued in the year 1600, he declared, though in very vague terms, "That thoſe who had ſerved the "nation in very honourable poſts, might begin to give "a right of nobility to their poſterity."

This diſpute, of ſo many ages ſtanding, ſeemed happily terminated by Lewis XIV. in the month of July 1644; but the event proved otherwiſe. We muſt here ſtep a little aſide from the order of time, in order to throw as much light upon this matter as poſſible. You will find in the Age of Lewis XIV. * the civil war that was excited in Paris during that prince's minority. It was during this war, and in the year 1644, that the parliament of Paris, the chamber of accounts, the court of aids, and all the other courts of the provinces, obtained "the privileges of nobles by birth, gentlemen "and barons of the kingdom," to deſcend to the children of counſellors and preſidents, who ſhould have ſerved twenty years, or have died in the exerciſe of their offices. By this edict their rank ſeemed aſcertained.

Could any one then think that Lewis XIV. would, in 1669, himſelf ſitting in parliament, reſume theſe privileges, and only maintain all theſe officers of juſtice in the employment of *their ancient privileges*, revoking all

* See Vol. V. of this Work.

all the rights of nobility which he had granted to them in 1644, and afterwards till this very year 1669?

Lewis XIV. with all his power, has not been able to deprive ſuch a number of citizens of a right which he beſtowed on them under his own hand. It is not very eaſy for one man to oblige ſo many others to ſtrip themſelves of what they have looked upon as a part of their property. The edict of 1644 has therefore prevailed, and the courts of judicature have enjoyed the rights of nobility; the nation not chooſing to conteſt this point with thoſe whoſe office it is to judge the nation.

While the magiſtrates of the ſuperior courts were thus diſputing about their rank from the year 1300, the burghers and officers of the towns were in a ſtill more uncertain ſtate. Charles V. called *the Wiſe*, for having gained the affections of the citizens of Paris, granted them ſeveral of the privileges of nobility, ſuch as bearing coat-armour, and holding fiefs without paying the fine, which is called the tax of frank-fiefs; but Henry continued this privilege to the provoſt of the merchants, and four echevins (or ſheriffs). The mayors and ſheriffs of ſeveral towns in France enjoy the ſame rights, ſome by ancient cuſtom, others by grant.

The moſt ancient grant of nobility given to the office of the pen in France, was that of the king's ſecretaries. Theſe were originally what the ſecretaries of ſtate are at preſent, and were called (*clercs du ſecret*) clerks of the privy-council: now, as they wrote immediately under the kings, and forwarded all their orders, it appeared but juſt that they ſhould enjoy ſome mark of diſtinction; and the privilege of nobility which they were intitled to after twenty years ſervice, ſerved as a model to the officers of the courts of judicature.

And here we principally perceive the extreme mutability of cuſtoms in France. The ſecretaries of ſtate, who had originally no other right than that of ſigning the diſpatches, and who could not give any authenticity to theſe, but in virtue of their offices of clerks of the

privy-council, or the king's private notaries, are even become miniſters of ſtate, and the powerful inſtruments of the will of an all-powerful monarch. They have aſſumed the title of *monſigneur*, which was formerly given only to princes and to knights, and at the ſame time the king's ſecretaries are confined to the chancery, where their whole office conſiſts in ſigning patents. The number of theſe uſeful members has been augmented to three hundred, ſolely for the ſake of raiſing money; and this ſhameful method has perpetuated the French nobility in upwards of ſix thouſand families, whoſe chiefs ſucceſſively bought their offices for a ſtipulated ſum.

A prodigious number of ſubjects, of other denominations, ſuch as bankers, ſurgeons, merchants, houſhold-ſervants to princes, and clerks in offices, have obtained letters of nobility, and, in the courſe of a few generations, wrote themſelves, in any public proceedings, moſt high and mighty lords. Titles of this kind have debaſed the ancient nobility, and have done no great honour to the new.

The perſonal ſervice of the ancient knights and eſquires being at length wholly laid aſide, and the general aſſembly of the ſtates being no longer aſſembled, the privileges of both ancient and modern nobility are now limited to the payment of the capitation (poll tax) inſtead of the taille. Thoſe, whoſe fathers were neither ſheriffs nor counſellors, nor ennobled perſons, have been diſtinguiſhed by appellations which are now become offenſive, ſuch as *villains* and *roturiers* (i. e. peaſants.)

The term *villain* comes from *villa*, a town or city, becauſe formerly only nobles were lords of caſtles, and *roturier* from *ruptura terræ*, the breaking up of the land, huſbandry; hence it has fallen out more than once, that a lieutenant-general of the forces, a brave officer, covered with ſcars, has been obliged to pay the taille, while the ſon of a clerk in an office has enjoyed the ſame privileges as the firſt officers of the crown. This ſhameful abuſe was not remedied till the year 1752, by M. d'Argenſon, ſecretary at war, who has ſerved the army

army more than any other miniſter, and to whoſe merit I the more readily do juſtice in this place, as he has been lately degraded.

The ridiculous multiplicity of nobles, without office, or real nobility, this debaſing diſtinction between the uſeleſs noble, who pays nothing to the ſtate, and the the uſeful plebeian, who contributes his ſhare to the taxes; thoſe poſts which are only obtained by money, and which confer the empty title of eſquire, are abuſes which we do not meet with in any other country, and are the effects of a kind of frantic deſire in a government, to ſtamp a mark of depredation on the major part of the nation. In England, whoever is poſſeſſed of an eſtate of forty ſhillings per annum, in land, is a freeholder, a free-born Engliſhman, and has a right to the nomination of his repreſentatives in parliament. Every one who is not of a handicraft trade is a gentleman, and there are no nobles, in the ſtrictneſs of the term, but thoſe who repreſent the ancient barons and peers of the realm, in the upper houſe, (or houſe of lords.)

There are many free ſtates in which the privileges of birth are of no advantage, and in which they admit only thoſe of citizen; and even in the city of Baſil, no gentleman can hold any office in the republic, unleſs he relinquiſhes his privileges of a gentleman; and yet in every free ſtate the magiſtrates only take the title of *nobilis*, noble. It is, without diſpute, the moſt eminent nobility to have been at the head of a republic, from father to ſon; but ſuch is the force of cuſtom and prejudice, that four hundred years poſſeſſion of ſo refined a dignity, would not exempt the bearer in France from paying the taille, nor gain him admittance into the moſt inconſiderable chapter in Germany.

Theſe cuſtoms form a complicated picture of human vanity and inconſtancy; but happily it is the leaſt melancholy part of the hiſtory of human kind.

Of TOURNAMENTS or JOUSTS.

THE tournaments, ſo long time famous throughout Chriſtendom, and ſo often anathematized, were games far more noble than the wreſtling, the throwing of the diſc, or the races of the Greeks, and not near ſo barbarous as the fights of gladiators among the Romans. Our tournaments bore no reſemblance to theſe ancient diverſions, but were much of the ſame kind with the military exerciſes ſo common in old times, and the games which we find deſcribed in Homer. Theſe warlike games firſt took their riſe in Italy, in the reign of Theodoric, who ſuppreſſed the gladiators of the 5th century, not by a prohibitory edict, but by reproaching the Romans with this barbarous cuſtom, in order that they might learn politeneſs of a Goth. After this there were frequently military games in Italy, and particularly in the kingdom of Lombardy, as alſo petty combats, called *battagliole*, which are ſtill kept up in the cities of Venice and Piſa.

This cuſtom was ſoon adopted by other nations. Nithard tells us, that in the year 870, the ſons of Lewis the Feeble celebrated their reconciliation by ſolemn tilts, which were afterwards called tournaments; and in which, ſays he, *Ex utraque parte, alter in alterum velociſſimo curſu ruebant* *.

The emperor Henry the Fowler celebrated his coronation in 920 by one of theſe military entertainments, in which the parties fought on horſeback. The preparations were as ſplendid as could be in a country ſo poor, that it had not one fortified town, but what had been built by the Romans along the banks of the Rhine.

This cuſtom became general in France, England, Spain, and among the Mooriſh nations. We know that Geofroi de Precielli, a knight of Touraine, compiled certain laws, to be obſerved in the celebration of theſe games, towards the end of the 11th century. Some pretend

* Either party ran at each other full ſpeed.

pretend that the name of tournament came from the city of Tours; for the combatants did not turn in these exercises, as they did in the chariot races among the Greeks and Romans. But it is more probable, that tournament was derived from the sword with a turned point, *ensis torneaticus*, in law-latin, it not being permitted in these games to strike with any other pointed weapons but the lance. These games were, at their first institution, called by the French *empriſes*, *feats of arms*, the word *feat* shewed that the combat was not to be mortal. These games were also called *Behourdis*, from the name of an armour, or breast-plate, with which their horses were covered. René of Anjou, king of Sicily and Jerusalem, and duke of Lorrain, though not in possession of a foot of either of these dominions, who was very fond of making verses and tournaments, made also several new rules and orders to be observed in those pastimes.

"Whosoever," says he, in his laws, "will hold a "tournament or joust (behourdi) must be a prince, or "at least a high baron." The person who held the tournament sent an herald with a sword to the prince whom he invited, desiring him to appoint judges of the field.

"Tournaments," says good king René, "may be "of abundant utility, inasmuch as it may happen that "some young knight or esquire, by his atchievements "therein, may acquire the good graces or greater affec-"tion of the lady whom he serveth."

Then follow the several ceremonies to be observed in these exercises, such as the hanging the armorial ensigns or banners of the contending knights or esquires at the windows, or on the galleries round the list.

Every thing was done in honour of the ladies. According to the laws of good king René, they were to examine the arms of the combatants, and to distribute the prizes to the victors; and if any knight or esquire, who was a candidate at these tournaments, had spoken ill of any lady, the other candidates beat him with their swords till the ladies cried out *grace*, (or enough!) or

elſe he was placed aſtride on the rails that went round the liſt, as a ſoldier is now ſet upon the wooden horſe.

Beſides theſe tournaments, there were likewiſe *pas d'armes*; and of theſe amuſements king René was likewiſe the lawgiver. The *pas d'armes* of the dragon's throat, held near Chinon in 1446, was very famous. Some time after, that of the *chateau de la joyeuſe garde*, or the Caſtle of Merry Men, acquired ſtill greater reputation. In theſe combats the trial of ſkill was to defend the entrance of a caſtle, or the paſſage of a high road. René had much better have tried his ſkill to enter into Sicily or Lorraine. The device of this gallant prince was a chafing-diſh full of live coals, with theſe words, "Full of ardent deſire." This ardent deſire was not for the recovery of the dominions which he had loſt, but for the charms of mademoiſelle Guy de Laval, with whom he was in love, and whom he married after the death of his wife Iſabella of Lorraine.

Theſe ancient tournaments firſt gave riſe to armorial bearings, about the beginning of the 12th century: and whatever of that nature is ſuppoſed to have exiſted before that time is evidently fictitious, as are likewiſe the pretended laws of the knights of the round table ſo much talked of in romance. Every knight, who preſented himſelf at the liſt with his beaver or helmet cloſed for combat, had ſome arbitrary figures or ſymbols painted on his ſhield, or coat of arms. Hence came the knights of the eagle, of the lion, &c. names ſo famous in the writings of the old noveliſts. The terms of blazonry, which at preſent ſeem ſuch an abſurd and barbarous jargon, were then words in common uſe. Flame colour was called *gules*; blue, *ſinople* or *azure*; a ſtake, was called a *pale*; and a band or belt, a *feſs*, *faſcia*.

If there was ever any reaſon for encouraging theſe warlike ſports, it was in the times of the cruſades, when the exerciſe of arms was conſecrated by neceſſity; and yet it was at this very period that the popes thought proper to prohibit them, and to anathematize an image of war, when they themſelves were perpetually ſtirring up real ones. Among others, Nicholas III. that pontiff

pontiff who had adviſed the maſſacre of the Sicilian veſpers, excommunicated all thoſe who had engaged in, or were even preſent at a tournament held in France by Philip the Bold in 1279. But there were other popes who approved of theſe combats; and king John of France entertained pope Urban V. with one of theſe ſhews, when, after his return from his captivity in England, he went to take up the croſs at Avignon on the mad project of fighting againſt the Turks, inſtead of ſetting himſelf to repair the diſaſters of his own kingdom.

Tournaments were not admitted into the Greek empire till very late. The Greeks in general held all the cuſtoms of the weſt in contempt; they deſpiſed the badge of coat-armour, and treated the ſcience of heraldry as ridiculous. At length in 1326 the young emperor Andronicus, having eſpouſed a princeſs of the houſe of Savoy, ſome young gentlemen of that country gave the diverſion of a tournament at Conſtantinople, and the Greeks from thence became accuſtomed to theſe military exerciſes. But the Turks were not to be reſiſted by tournamants; it required well diſciplined armies, and an able government, two things which the Greeks were ſcarcely now maſters of.

The cuſtom of holding tournaments kept its footing throughout all Europe. One of the moſt ſolemn and magnificent was that which was held at Boulogne-ſur-mer in the year 1309, on the occaſion of the marriage of Iſabella of France with king Edward II. of England. Edward III. held two very fine ones afterwards in London. There was even one held at Paris in the year 1415, during the unfortunate reign of Charles VI. After this came thoſe of René of Anjou, of which we have already ſpoken. They continued to be very frequent till the death of Henry II. of France, who, as we all know, was killed at one of theſe diverſions in the palace of the Tournelles in the year 1559. This accident one would imagine ſhould have put a final ſtop to them.

But the idle lives of the Greeks, joined to habit and a natural inclination, revived theſe bloody amuſements at Orleans in leſs than a year after the tragical end of Henry

Henry II. Here prince Henry de Bourbon Montpenſier was the victim by a fall from his horſe, which coſt him his life. This put a total ſtop to tournaments. But there ſtill remained a faint image of them in the *pas d'armes* held by Charles IX. and Henry III. a year after the maſſacre of St. Bartholomew; for in thoſe days feſtivals and proſcriptions always went hand in hand. Theſe *pas d'armes* were not attended with any danger, as the combatants fought only with blunt weapons. There was no tournament held on the marriage of the duke de Joyeuſe in 1581; the word tournament is therefore improperly applied by L'Etoile in the account he gives us of theſe diverſions in his journal. The grandees did not fight at all; and what he calls a tournament was only a kind of warlike battle, exhibited in the gardens of the Louvre by hired performers, and was a ſhew given to the court, and not given by the court itſelf. The games which afterwards went by the name of tournaments were only carouſals.

We may therefore date the ſuppreſſion of tournaments from the year 1560. With them expired the ſpirit of chivalry, which appeared no more afterwards but in romance. This ſpirit prevailed greatly in the reign of Francis I. and the emperor Charles V. Philip II. who ſeldom ſtirred out of his own palace, encouraged no merit but that of a blind ſubmiſſion to his will. After the death of Henry II. France was plunged in fanaticiſm, and deſolated by religious wars. Germany divided between the Roman Catholic, Lutheran, and Calviniſt factions, forgot the ancient cuſtoms of chivalry; and in Italy they were loſt in the ſpirit of intrigue.

The *pas d'armes*, the combats of the liſts, and the imitation of the ancient tournaments, every where aboliſhed, were ſucceeded by the bull-fight in Spain, and carouſals in France, Italy, and Germany. It would be ſuperfluous to give a deſcription of theſe games in this place, after that which we have given of the grand one held by Lewis XIV. in the age of that monarch. The laſt carouſal which was held was that at Berlin in the

the year 1750, which was finely executed, and at which the brothers of the king of Pruſſia diſtinguiſhed themſelves greatly by their ſkill and addreſs. All theſe military games begin now to be entirely out of uſe; and of the many exerciſes which formerly rendered the body ſo robuſt and agile, none now remain, but that of hunting, and even this is greatly neglected of late by the crowned heads of Europe. Pleaſures have had their revolutions as well as every other thing.

OF DUELS.

THE manner of educating our nobility greatly encouraged the practice of duelling, which has been of ſo long continuance, and had its beginning with our modern monarchies. The cuſtom of deciding the merits of a cauſe by a legal combat was known only to the Chriſtians of the Weſt. We hear of no duels among thoſe of the eaſtern church: and the ancients were utter ſtrangers to this barbarous practice. Cæſar indeed tells us in his Commentaries, that two of his centurions, who had been always jealous of, and at enmity with each other, decided their quarrel by a challenge, but this challenge was to ſhew which of them ſhould perform the moſt valiant feats in battle. One of them, after having ſlain a great number of the enemy with his own hand, being at length wounded and thrown to the ground himſelf, his competitor ſtept in and reſcued him. Such were the duels of the Romans.

The moſt ancient example of duels commanded by the ſovereign, is in the law of Gondebaut the Burgundian, a German by family, who had uſurped the dukedom of Burgundy. This method of judgment was eſtabliſhed throughout all the Weſt. The old Catalan law quoted by the learned du Cange, and the German and Bavarian laws, mention ſeveral caſes in which the parties were ordered to determine the diſpute by ſingle combat.

In the aſſizes held by the cruſards at Jeruſalem, we find the law runs thus, "Le garant que l'on lieve, ſi

"come

" come es par pu doit répondre a qui li lieve, Tu " ments et te rendrai mort ô recrean et vesli mon " gage*."

The ancient Normand customary says, " Plainte de " meurtre doit être faite ; et si l'accusé nie, il en offre " gage——et bataille li doit être ottroyée par justice †."

It is evident by these laws that a man accused of one murder had a right to commit two. Even civil matters were often terminated by these bloody issues. If two parties disputed an inheritance with each other, he who had the best sword was held to have the best right ; and differences between fellow citizens were decided like those between nations by force of arms.

This law procedure experienced its changes like all other human institutions, whether wise or foolish. St. Lewis enacted, that an esquire, if accused by a villain (i. e. a peasant) might fight on horseback, and that a villain accused by an esquire must fight on foot. He exempts youths under twenty-one years of age from the laws of duelling, and old persons above sixty.

The women and priests had the naming of the champions who were to cut each other's throats in their name; and the success and honour of a family depended on a lucky choice. It sometimes happened, that churchmen themselves offered and accepted combat, and fought within enclosed ground. By the constitutions of William the Conqueror it appears, that no clerk or abbot could engage in single combat without permission first had of their bishops. " Si clericus " duellum sine episcopi licentia susceperit, &c."

By the laws of St. Lewis, and other precedents quoted by du Cange, it seems, that those who were defeated were sometimes hanged, and sometimes beheaded or dismembered. These were called laws of honour,

* The meaning of which is, that the party accused shall say to the accuser, thou lieſt, and I will either make thee recant, or thou shalt die by my hand, and here is my gage (or token of defiance)

† That is, complaint of murder must be made, and if the accused party denies the charge, he offers challenge, in which case the law must grant him combat.

and

and authorized under the ſeal of this kingly ſaint, who is ſaid to have wanted to aboliſh this cuſtom worthy only of ſavages.

Juſtice was ſo far improved in the reign of Lewis the Young, that he iſſued an order in 1168, that ſingle combat ſhould be ordered only in caſes where the ſum exceeded five crowns, " quinque ſolidos."

Philip the Fair publiſhed a large code of duels. If the appellant had a mind to fight by party, and name a champion to defend his cauſe, he was to ſay, " Our " ſovereign lord the king, by legal eſſoin of my body " (i. e. through bodily weakneſs of diſeaſe) I claim and " demand to have ſuch a gentleman for my champion, " who may in my preſence, if ſo I can, or in my ab- " ſence with the help of God, of our holy lady, and " monſeigneur St. George, do true and loyal ſervice in " my name, and at my hazard, &c."

The two adverſaries, or their champions in their ſtead, appeared on a day appointed within a liſt eighty paces in length, and forty wide, attended by the ſerjeants at arms. They were to come " mounted on " horſeback with their vizors down, their ſhields ſlung " acroſs their ſhoulders, their faulchions in their hands, " and their ſwords and daggers girt to their ſides." They were enjoined to bear a crucifix, or an image of the Virgin Mary, or of ſome ſaint, in their banners. The heralds at arms made the ſpectators range themſelves on the outſide of the liſts on foot. No one being permitted to be preſent on horſeback, under pain of loſing his horſe if a nobleman, and if a commoner, of loſing one ear.

The marſhal of the field, aſſiſted by a prieſt, ſwore the two combatants on a crucifix, that their right was good, and that they made uſe of no enchanted arms, taking monſeigneur St. George to witneſs, and renouncing heaven, if they ſpoke falſe. Theſe blaſphemous ceremonies over, the marſhal cried out with a loud voice, " Let them go on;" and then, throwing down a glove, the combatants went to work, and the arms of the vanquiſhed was the marſhal's fee.

Much

Much the ſame kind of forms were obſerved in England. But in Germany they differed conſiderably. We read in the Theatre of Honour, and in ſeveral other ancient chronicles, that, in general the village of Hall in Suabia was the place for theſe combats. The two parties applied to the aſſembly of the Notables, who are the chief magiſtrates of Suabia, for permiſſion to enter the liſts. On theſe occaſions, they aſſigned to each combatant a godfather and a confeſſor; the people chanted a *libera* *; a bier ſurrounded by torches, and deſigned to receive the liſeleſs corpſe of the vanquiſhed perſon, was placed at one end of the liſts. The ſame ceremonies were obſerved at Warbourg.

There were a great number of theſe cloſe combats all over Europe till the 13th century. From the laws for theſe combats came the proverbial ſayings, *Les morts ont tort*; *Les battus payent l'amende.—i. e.* The dead are always in the wrong; and he that is beaten muſt pay all coſts.

The parliament of France ſometimes ordered theſe combats; in the ſame manner as they now order proofs to be produced in writing, or by verbal evidence. In the year 1343, during the reign of Philip of Valois, the parliament came to a reſolution that there was a lawful challenge, and a neceſſity of mortal combat, between the chevalier Dubois and the chevalier de Vervins, becauſe the latter had endeavoured to perſuade Philip, that "Dubois had bewitched his highneſs the king of "France."

The duel between Legris and Carrogue, ordered by parliament in the reign of Charles VI. is famous even to this day. The diſpute was whether Legris had lain with Carrouge's wife againſt her conſent, or not?

Long time afterwards, namely in 1442, in a ſolemn cauſe between the chevalier Patarin and the eſquire Tachon, the parliament declared the affair in queſtion did not require trial by combat; inaſmuch as it required

* *Libera nos, Domine*, A kind of hymn in the Roman maſs book.

a peremptory

a peremptory accuſation or charge, independent of all witneſſes to warrant a legal order for a duel.

A charge of this kind happened in the year 1454, in the perſon of one John Picard, who was accuſed of having defiled his own daughter, and was held by a decree to fight againſt his ſon-in-law, who was his accuſer. The Theatre of Honour and Chivalry does not tell us the iſſue of this affair; but, be it as it might, the parliament ordered a charge of inceſt to be made good by parricide.

The biſhops, and abbots likewiſe, in imitation of the parliaments and king's council, ordered cloſe combats within their juriſdictions. Ives de Chartres reproaches the archbiſhop of Sens, and the biſhop of Orleans, with having ordered too great a number of duels of this kind in civil matters. In the year 1100, Geofroi du Maine, biſhop of Angers, obliged the monks of St. Serga to prove by combat their right to certain tithes, to which they laid claim; and the champion for the monks got the cauſe for them by ſoundly cudgelling his adverſary.

Under the laſt race of the dukes of Burgundy, the burghers of the towns of Flanders enjoyed the privilege of proving their claims with a buckler, and club. They rubbed themſelves all over with tallow or greaſe, becauſe they had heard the athletæ of old anointed themſelves with oil; they next dipped their hands into a tub or bucket of aſhes, and then putting ſome ſugar or honey in their mouths, they fought till one of them dropt, and he that was overcome was hanged.

The liſt of theſe ſingle combats, ordered by ſovereigns, would ſwell this work to too great a ſize. King Francis I. iſſued a ſolemn order for two; and his ſon Henry II. for other two. The firſt of thoſe which Henry ordered was that between Jarnac and la Chataigneraye, in the year 1547. La Chataigneraye had accuſed Jarnac with lying with his mother-in-law; but was this a reaſon for a king, with the advice of his council, to order two of his ſubjects to butcher one another in his preſence? but ſuch were the manners of the times. The two champions ſwore each upon the holy goſpels, that

that he fought in the cauſe of truth, and that "he car-"ried about him neither charms, ſpells, nor incanta-"tions." La Chataigneraye dying of his wounds, Henry II. made a vow never more to order duels; and the next year, he, in council, iſſued letters patent, injoining two young gentlemen to fight within the liſts at Sedan, under the inſpection of the marſhal de la Marck, prince of Sedan. Henry thought he had not broke his oath, becauſe he ordered the parties to go and murder each other out of his kingdom. The court of Lorraine oppoſed in form this honour conferred on the marſhal de la Marck, and ſent a proteſt to Sedan, alledging that all duels between the Rhine and the Maeſe were, according to the laws of the empire, to be fought only by order, and in the preſence, of the ſovereign of Lorraine. Notwithſtanding this, the field was marked out in Sedan. The motive of this order of Henry and his council, was that one of theſe gentlemen, named D'Ageures, had put his hand into the breeches of a young man, named Fendilles. Fendilles, being wounded, confeſſed the accuſation to have been falſe; upon which he was thrown out of the liſts by the heralds at arms, and his arms broken: this was one of the puniſhments inflicted on the vanquiſhed party. It would be difficult in our days to conceive how ſo ridiculous an affair could have been thought worthy of being decided by combat.

We muſt not confound theſe duels, which may be looked upon as judgments of the almighty, with the ſingle combats between the chiefs of two armies, or the knights of two adverſe parties. Theſe latter were feats of arms, and military exploits, which have ever been in uſe among all nations.

It is hard to determine, whether we ought to rank ſeveral cartels of defiance between king and king, and prince and prince, in the number of legal duels, or among the exploits of chivalry: there have been inſtances of both kinds.

When Charles of Anjou, brother to St. Lewis, and Peter of Arragon, defied each other to combat, after the maſſacre of the Sicilian veſpers, they agreed to ſtake the

he juſtice of their cauſe upon a ſingle combat, with the ermiſſion of pope Martin IV. as ſays John Baptiſt Caaffa, in his hiſtory of Naples. King Philip the Bald ppointed Bourdeaux for the place of combat. Nothing ould more reſemble the old legal duels. Charles of Anjou came to the rendezvous the morning of the day ppointed, and took out an action of default againſt his dverſary, who did not arrive till the ſame evening. Peter, in return, took out another action of default againſt Charles, for not having waited for him. This ingular challenge would have been ranked in the number of legal combats, if theſe two kings had had as great an inclination to fight with, as to brave, each other. The duel which Edward III. propoſed to Philip of Valois comes within the rules of chivalry. Philip refuſed his challenge, alledging that a vaſſal could not challenge his lord-paramount; but afterwards, when the vaſſal had defeated the army of his lord, Philip offered him combat; and Edward, who was then conqueror, refuſed it, ſaying that he was too wiſe to put to the hazard of a ſingle combat what he had gained by many battles.

The emperor Charles V. and Francis I. defied each other, ſent mutual challenges, gave each other the *lie in the throat*, but never fought. There is not a ſingle inſtance of one king fighting againſt another within liſts; but incredible is the number of knights who laviſhed their blood in theſe exploits.

We have already taken notice of the challenge of a duke of Bourbon, who to keep himſelf from idleneſs, propoſed a combat to extremity in honour of the ladies.

One of the moſt famous challenges is that of John de Warchin, a knight of great renown, and ſeneſchal (or grand bailiff) of Hainault, who cauſed to be fixed up in all the capital cities of Europe, that he would fight *a outrance*, to extremity, either ſingle, or himſelf with other five perſons, with ſword, lance, and battle-axe, "with the help of God, of the Holy Virgin, and "monſeigneur St. George and his lady." The combat was to be in a village of Flanders, named Conchy; but no perſon appearing to enter the liſts, with this Fle-

mith

miſh hero, he made a vow to go in ſearch of adventure throughout France and Spain, conſtantly armed cap-a-pie; after which he went and made an offering of his bourdon, or ſtaff, at the ſhrine of monſeigneur St. James in Galicia. By this you may ſee that the original of Quixotiſm was in Flanders.

The moſt horrible duel that was ever propoſed and which nevertheleſs was the moſt excuſable, was that of Arnold, or Arnaud, the laſt duke of Gueldres, whoſe territories fell to the Burgundy branch of the houſe of France, afterwards belonged to the Auſtro-Spaniſh branch, and one part of which is ſtill free.

Adolphus, ſon to this duke Arnaud, took up arms againſt his father in the year 1470, in the time of Charles the Raſh, duke of Burgundy; and this Adolphus declared publicly, in the preſence of Charles, that his father had been in poſſeſſion of the dukedom long enough, and that he was determined to enjoy it in his turn, and that, if his father would accept of a ſmall penſion of 3000 florins, he would give it him willingly. Charles, who before his misfortunes was very powerful, cited both father and ſon to appear before him; the father, though old and infirm, threw down his pledge of combat, and demanded permiſſion of the duke of Burgundy to fight his ſon in his court. The ſon accepted the challenge, but duke Charles would not permit the combat; and the father, having with great juſtice diſinherited his unnatural and rebellious ſon, and given his dominions to Charles, that unfortunate prince loſt them all, together with his own and his life, in a war ſtill more unjuſt than any of the duels we have deen relating.

The chief thing which contributed to the ſuppreſſing this cuſtom, was the new method of fighting introduced into the armies. King Henry IV. decried the uſe of lances at the battle of Ivri; and, at preſent, where the ſuperiority of fire determines the fate of the day, a knight would have but an indifferent chance to preſent himſelf, with his lance couched in the reſt, before the front of a battalion. Military courage conſiſted formerly in keeping firm, and armed at all points, on an horſe, who was alſo in a manner caſed with ſteel. In our days, it

consists in marching slowly up to the mouth of the can-
n that sometimes sweep away whole ranks at a dis-
arge.

When the legal duels became out of use, and the
rtels of chivalry still more so, duels between private
rsons began to rage with great fury; and every one
ok to himself, upon the most trivial occasions, that
ence which was formerly wont to be demanded of par-
ments, bishops, and kings.

Duels were much less frequent when courts of justice
dered them in a solemn manner; but when they came
be forbidden, they encreased out of number. They
en came to have seconds in these combats, in like man-
r as in those in the times of chivalry.

One of the most famous we meet with in history, is
at of Cailus, Maugiron, and Livarot, against An-
gnet, Riberac, and Schomberg, in the reign of Henry
I. at a place now called *Place Royale*, (or the king's
uare) and where formerly stood the palace of Tour-
lles. After that, hardly a day passed without some
el happening; and this madness was carried so far,
at there were companies of gendarmes, into which no
rson was admitted who had not fought at least one
el, or would not take an oath to fight one before the
piration of the year. This horrid custom continued
l the reign of Lewis XIV.

Of EUROPE, in the 15th Century.

SPAIN.

ol. III. chap. lxxxv. page 29. THE bastard Trastamare, a rebel against his lawful king, had been formerly acknowledged
ng himself, and now they dethrone their lawful sove-
ign, and declare his daughter * illegitimate, though
blicly born of the queen, and acknowledged by her
ther as his own child.

* Joan, daughter to Hen y IV. king of Castile.

OF

OF THE STATE OF THE JEWS IN EUROPE.

Idem, page 33, 34. AFTER having ſeen how the Jews were treated in Spain, let us now examine what was their ſituation in the other nations of Europe. You know, that they every where exerciſed the buſineſs of brokers, and itinerant traders; as they did in ancient times at Babylon, Rome and Alexandria. In France, their moveable poſſeſſions belonged to the baron or lord, in whoſe lands they dwelt. "The moveables of Jews," ſay the regulations of St. Lewis, "belong to the baron."

A Jew could no more be taken from a baron, than his horſe or his mule. The ſame law prevailed in Germany. The Jews are declared ſerfs by a conſtitution of Frederic II. A Jew was at firſt part of the domain or property of the emperor; afterwards every lord had his Jews.

Till the end of the 14th century, it was eſtabliſhed by the feudal laws in moſt parts of Europe, that when a Jew embraced chriſtianity his effects were confiſcated for the uſe of his lord. This, you will ſay, was no efficacious method to promote their converſion; but, at all events, the baron was to be indemnified for the loſs of his Jew.

In great towns, and eſpecially in the imperial cities, they had their ſynagogues, and enjoyed ſome of the privileges of citizens: but then you may be ſure they paid handſomely for them; and when they became very rich, eſpecial care was taken to accuſe them of having crucified a young child on a Good Friday. On this accuſation, which never failed to pleaſe the populace, a law was made in ſeveral of the towns of Languedoc and Provence, permitting any one to beat or ill-uſe a Jew, if he was found in the ſtreets from Good-Friday to Eaſter Day.

Their chief avocation having been from time immemorial the lending of money on pledges, they were forbidden to lend upon any church ornaments, or of bloody

bloody or wet linen or cloaths. In the year 1215, the council of Lateran ordered, that they ſhould carry the figure of a ſmall wheel on their breaſt, to diſtinguiſh them from Chriſtians. Theſe badges were changed at different times; but they were always obliged to wear ſome one, by which they might be known. They were expreſsly forbidden to take any maid ſervants or nurſes, who were Chriſtians, or even concubines of that religion; and there were ſome countries, in which they burned thoſe women who had lain with a Jew man, or the man who had lain with a Jew woman, for this unanſwerable reaſon, which we find given by the great civilian Gallus, "That it is the ſame thing to lie with a "Jew, as with a dog."

Whenever they had any law-ſuit againſt a Chriſtian, they were obliged to ſwear by Sabaoth, Eloi, and Adonai, and the ten names of God; and they were threatened with the *tertian*, *quartan*, and *quotidian ague*, if they did not ſpeak the truth; and, if they were caſt, they were ſure to be hanged between two dogs.

In England they were permitted to take mortgages upon eſtates in the country, for monies lent thereon; and, in the *Monaſticum Anglicanum*, we find, that it coſt ſix marks ſterling to redeem any eſtate out of the hands of a Jewiſh mortgagee.

They were at different times driven out of almoſt all the towns in Chriſtendom, and almoſt as continually recalled. Rome alone has conſtantly kept them within her boſom. They were totally driven out of France, in the year 1394, by Charles VI. and could never afterwards obtain permiſſion to reſide in Paris, where they had formerly occupied ſeveral whole ſtreets. In Metz and Bourdeaux, they are permitted the uſe of ſynagogues, only becauſe they were found in poſſeſſion of that privilege at the time theſe towns were annexed to the crown of France; but they have conſtantly remained uninterrupted in Avignon, which is a part of the pope's territories. In a word, they were every where uſurers, in virtue of the privilege and benediction of their own law, and every where held in deteſtation on that very account.

Their

Their famous rabbins, Maimonides, Abarbanel, Aben Ezra, and others, in vain repeated to the Chriſtians, in all their writings, We are your fathers, our ſcripture is yours, our books are read in your churches, and our hymns are ſung there. They were anſwered only by being plundered, exiled, and hanged between two dogs. In Spain and Portugal, it became a faſhion to burn theſe unhappy people. Late times have been more favourable to them, eſpecially in Holland and England, where they are ſuffered to enjoy their riches, and all the rights of ſociety, of which no one is deprived in thoſe countries. They were even on the point of obtaining a general act of naturalization in England, in the year 1750, nay, the act had actually paſſed for that purpoſe; but, at length, the univerſal cry of the nation, and the ridicule that was caſt upon the ſcheme, cauſed it to be repealed. Numberleſs were the burleſque prints and ſatyrical writings, publiſhed on this occaſion, in ſome of which my lord Aaron and viſcount Judah were repreſented ſitting in the houſe of lords; the people laughed, and the Jews comforted themſelves with being rich and free.

It is no ſlight proof of the capriciouſneſs of the human mind, to ſee the deſcendents of Jacob carried in proceſſion to be burned at Liſbon, and, at the ſame time, candidates for the moſt diſtinguiſhed privileges of a Britiſh ſubject. In Turkey, they are neither burned nor admitted to honours; but they have made themſelves the ſole maſters of the commerce of that country, and neither the French, the Venetians, the Engliſh, nor the Dutch, can either buy or ſell there, but through the intervention of the Jews. It was an inevitable conſequence of the legiſlation of this people, that they were to be conquerors or ſlaves. They were commanded to hold every other nation in abhorrence, and to look upon themſelves as defiled, if they only eat out of the ſame diſh with any one of a different faith. They gave the name of *the Nations* to about twenty or thirty ſmall villages round about them, whom they were determined to deſtroy, and with whom they thought it a crime to have any thing in common. When their eyes were

were a little opened by other victorious nations, who taught them, to their coſt, that the world was larger than they imagined, their very law made them enemies to theſe nations, and, in ſhort, to all mankind. They obſtinately perſevered in their abſurd policy, when it was their intereſt to have changed it; their ſuperſtition increaſed with their misfortunes, and their conquerors were an uncircumciſed people. A Jew thought himſelf as much forbidden to eat out of the ſame diſh with a Roman, as with an Amalekite. They retained all their cuſtoms, which were diametrically oppoſite to thoſe of ſociety in general; and accordingly they were deſervedly treated as a people who ſet themſelves up againſt all others

Of the PEOPLE called BOHEMIANS, EGYPTIANS, or GYPSIES.

THERE was, at this time, another petty nation, as unſettled, and as much diſperſed, as the Jews, and who followed another method of rapine. Theſe were a collection of ſtrange people, known in France by the name of *Bohemians*; in other countries they were called *Egyptians*, *Gypſies*, or *Syrians*, and in Italy *Zingani*, or *Zingari*. They wandered in troops or companies from one end of Europe to the other, with tabors and pipes, and caſtenetts, dancing, ſinging, telling fortunes, ſhewing tricks of legerdemain, curing diſeaſes with certain cant words, and ſtealing every thing that came in their way; they obſerved certain religious ceremonies amongſt themſelves, of which neither they nor any one elſe knew the meaning, or the origin. Theſe people have dwindled away conſiderably of late years, ſince mankind have begun to throw off the infatuated notions of witchcraft, taliſmans, predictions, and poſſeſſions by evil ſpirits. There are ſtill ſome few of them to be met with, but they become very ſcarce. Nothing appears more probable, than that thoſe wretches were a remnant of the ancient prieſts and prieſteſſes of Iſis, intermixed with thoſe of the goddeſs of the Aſſyrians.

rians. These wandering tribes, as much despised by the Romans as their ancestors had formerly been reverenced, carried their ceremonies and their mercenary superstitions with them all over the world. True missionaries-errant of the faith they professed, they ran from province to province to make converts of those, upon whom mere chance had confirmed their predictions, or who, having recovered by the course of nature from some slight disorders, imagined they owed their cure to the miraculous efficacy of certain unintelligible words and signs of these false prophets. The description, which Apuleius gives us of these vagabond prophets and propheteſſes, is the very picture of what those wandering tribes, called Bohemians or Gypsies, have for a long time been in every country in Europe. Their castenetts and tabor and pipe are the cymbals and crotals of the Isean and Syrian priests. Apuleius, who spent most of his life in searching after religious and magic secrets, speaks of the predictions, talismans, ceremonies, dances, and songs of these pilgrim priests, and, in particular, remarks their great skill in stealing whatever came in their way, either in the court-yards or houses, where they were admitted.

When Christianity took place of the religion of Numa, and that Theodosius had destroyed the famous temple of Serapis in Egypt, some of the Egyptian priests joined themselves to those of the goddess Cybele, and the goddess of the Assyrians, and went about begging alms, in the same manner as hath been since practised by our Mendicant friars; but as they could not expect any assistance from the Christians, they found it necessary to add the trade of quack-doctors to that of pilgrim, and practised chiromancy or palmistry, and formed several singular dances. Mankind love to be amused and deceived; and therefore these offsprings of the ancient priests have continued even to the present time Such has been the end of the ancient religion of Isis and Osiris, whose very names still impress respect. This religion, altogether emblematical and highly venerable, in its origin as early as the days of Cyrus, degenerated into a medley of ridiculous and superstitious customs. It

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fell into ſtill greater contempt under the Ptolemies, and, in the time of the Romans, was in a ſtate of the utmoſt abjection; and, at length, has been wholly left to a band of thieves and pickpockets. The ſame fate, perhaps, will attend the Jews, when civil ſociety becomes more improved, and every nation carries on its own trade, without any longer ſharing the fruits of their labour and induſtry with thoſe wandering brokers; then, I ſay, the Jewiſh race muſt naturally diminiſh. The more wealthy amongſt them begin already to deſpiſe the ſuperſtitions of their own ſect, and, in a ſhort time, they will be left wholly to themſelves; a people deſtitute of arts and laws, and, when they are no longer permitted to fatten upon our indolence, they will be unable to keep up a ſeparate ſociety: for want of practice, they will forget their old jargon, which is no other than a corrupt medley of Hebrew and Syriac; and, loſt even to the knowledge of their own books, they will in time be confounded among the dregs of the people, with whom they live.

Of ITALY, in the Fifteenth Century.

Idem, page 38. FROM the affair of the aſſaſſination of the Medicis family, we may form a clear idea of the ſpirit and manner of theſe times; Sixtus IV. (La Roverre) was then ſovereign pontiff. I ſhall not here enter into an inquiry, as Machiavel has done, whether the Riario, whom he cauſed to paſs for his nephews, were his own children or not; nor with Michael Brutus, whether he begot them while he was only a Cordelier friar? It is ſufficient to lead us to the knowledge of facts, that we are certain, that he ſacrificed one of theſe ſuppoſed nephews to the intereſts of Jerome Riario. We have elſewhere obſerved, that the juriſdiction of the Holy See was not by a great deal ſo extenſive as it is at preſent. Sixtus IV. wanted to ſtrip the lords of Imola and Friuli of their poſſeſſions to enrich Jerome. The two brothers Medicis ſupported theſe princes with money and forces. The pope thought he could not ſecure his authority in Italy, but by the

ruin of the Medicis family. A banker of Florence, named Piazzi, who had ſettled at Rome, and who was an enemy to the two brothers, offered his ſervice to the pope to get them aſſaſſinated. Cardinal Raphael Riario, Jerome's brother, was ſent to Florence to manage the plot, of which Salviati, archbiſhop of that city, had already formed the plan; and Stephano, a dependant on the archbiſhop, took upon himſelf the execution of it. The conſpirators pitched upon a day that a grand feſtival was to be held in the church of Santa Reparata, for the maſſacre of the Medicis and their friends, in the manner that the aſſaſſins of Galeas Sforza had made choice of the cathedral of Milan, and the feſtival of St. Stephen, to murder that prince at the foot of the altar. The inſtant of the elevation of the hoſt was the time pitched upon to ſtrike the blow, as then, the people being proſtrate, and attentive to the appearance of their God, were not in a condition to obſtruct the execution. Accordingly, at that very moment, Julian de Medicis was ſtabbed by a brother of Piazzi, and other of the conſpirators. Laurence de Medicis was wounded by Stephano, but not ſo mortally but that he had ſtrength enough to take refuge in the ſacriſty or veſtry.

When we ſee a pope, an archbiſhop, and a prieſt, meditating ſuch a crime, and chooſing for the perpetration of it the very inſtant when their God ſhews himſelf to them in his temple, we cannot doubt of the atheiſm of thoſe times. Certainly, if they had thought, that their Creator did really appear to them under the form of the conſecrated bread, they would not have dared to offer ſuch an inſult to him. But hiſtory ſhews us, that though the common people adored this myſtery, the grandees and ſtateſmen laughed at it. They thought like the ancient Romans in the time of Cæſar, and, from the force of their own paſſions, concluded there was no religion. They all made uſe of this horrible argument: "Men have taught us nothing but falſhoods, therefore there connot be a God." Thus the religion of nature was ſtifled in the hearts of almoſt all thoſe who governed in thoſe days; and no age

ever

ever produced ſo many murders, poiſonings, treaſons, and debauchery of all kind.

Id. page 38.] The people of Florence, who loved the family of Medicis, revenged their deaths, with intereſt, on the bloody perpetrators. The biſhop was hanged at one of the windows of the public palace. Laurence had the generoſity, or prudence, to ſave the life of the cardinal's nephew, whom the enraged people were going to put to death, at the foot of that very altar which he had himſelf ſtained with blood, and whither he now fled for ſafety.

One extraordinary circumſtance attending this conſpiracy was, that Bernard Bendini, one of the aſſaſſins, who had retired into Turkey, was afterwards delivered up to Laurence de Medicis, by order of the ſultan Bajazet; who thus became an inſtrument of puniſhing a crime of which pope Sixtus had been the author. But, what was leſs extraordinary, the pope excommunicated the Florentines, for having puniſhed a bloody conſpiracy, and even began war againſt them for it, which was happily terminated by the prudence of Medicis. You may ſee by this, what ſort of purpoſes religion and the papal cenſure were made to ſerve in thoſe days; days that teemed with crimes, whoſe heinouſneſs exceeded the utmoſt ſtretch of imagination.

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Ibid.] Laurence de Medicis equalled the great Coſmo in liberality, and ſurpaſſed him in magnificence. Florence might then be ſaid to reſemble ancient Athens. There were, at one and the ſame time, the prince Pico of Mirandola, Politiano, Marcillo Ficino, Landino, Laſcaris, Calcondillo, Marcillo. whom Laurence had gathered about him, and who were, perhaps, ſuperior to the ſeven ſages of Greece, ſo much boaſted of in hiſtory.

His ſon Peter, like him, held the ſupreme authority in Florence, and was almoſt ſovereign of Tuſcany, at the time the French made their expedition to Naples; but he was in much leſs credit than either of his predeceſſors or deſcendents.

CONCLUSION OF THE ARTICLE SAVONAROLA.

Vol. III. chap. lxxxvii. page 50.

METHINKS I ſee you look with an eye of commiſeration on theſe ſcenes of abſurdity and wickedneſs. Theſe were the effects of the moſt infamous ſuperſtition, which ever debaſed the ſoul of man, and the worſt of all poſſible governments. But, conſider, that it is not long ſince we have emerged from this darkneſs, and that we are not as yet altogether enlightened.

OF PICO DE LA MIRANDOLA.

Vol. I. chap. lxxxviii.

THE hiſtory of this prince is merely that of a ſcholar of prodigious genius, who ran through a vaſt career of errors, and, being blind himſelf, followed the ſteps of others as blind as himſelf.

OF POPE ALEXANDER VI.

Vol. III. chap. lxxxix. and xc.

GUICCIARDINO believes, that the lord of Farneza, named Aſtor, a young man of remarkable beauty, being delivered up to the pope's baſtard, was obliged to ſerve his beaſtly pleaſures, and was afterwards ſent, together with his natural brother, to the pope, who cauſed them both to be ſtrangled.

LEAGUE OF CAMBRAY, in 1508.

Vol. III. chap. xcii. page 68.

ALMOST all the powers who were at enmity with each other ſuſpended their diſputes, to join in the general league, ſet on foot at Cambray, againſt the Venetians. The Turk, who was the natural enemy of this republic, but then at peace with her, was the only power

power who did not accede to this treaty. Never were ſo many kings in league againſt ancient Rome. Venice was as rich as all the confederates together. To this reſource ſhe truſted, and to that diſſenſion, which ſhe rightly judged would ſpeedily happen among ſo many confederates. It was in her power to pacify Julius II. who was the chief promoter of this league; but ſhe diſdained to make any conceſſion, and boldly waited the coming of the ſtorm. This was, perhaps, the only time this republic was rich.

JULIUS II. againſt LEWIS XIV. in 1510.

Idem, page 73. THE operations were begun on the ſide of Bologna and Ferrara. Julius II. had already taken Bologna from the Bentivoglio, and he wanted to make himſelf maſter of Ferrara. By theſe invaſions, he deſtroyed the deſign he had formed of driving all ſtrangers out of Italy; for the people of Bologna and Ferrara, upon ſeeing themſelves attacked, naturally had recourſe to the French for aſſiſtance againſt him, who, after having been the avenger of Italy, was now become its oppreſſor. His ambition, which had overweighed all other conſiderations, plunged Italy into thoſe calamities, from which it would have been his glory to have delivered her, and ſuffered his intereſt ſo far to get the better of prudence and decency, as to admit into Bologna a numerous body of Turks, who had come thither againſt the French army, commanded by Chaumont d'Amboiſe. We are indebted for the knowledge of this ſingular fact to Paul Jove, biſhop of Nocera, who was an eye-witneſs thereof. Several former popes had taken up arms againſt the Turks. Julius was the firſt who made uſe of their aſſiſtance.

CUSTOMS of the Sixteenth Century.

Vol. III. chap. c. page 138.

THE Greek comedy and tragedy were revived as early as the beginning of the ſixteenth century, the former by cardinal Bibiena, and the latter by Triſſino, archbiſhop of Beneventum. Ruccelai ſoon followed the archbiſhop. Some of the beſt pieces of Plautus were tranſlated at Venice, and into verſe, which they ought to be, ſince it was in verſe that Plautus wrote them. They were performed with ſucceſs on the Venetian ſtage, and in thoſe monaſteries where polite learning was cultivated.

The Italians imitated the Greek tragedians, and Latin comedians; but could not equal them. However, they invented a new kind of paſtoral, in which they had no guide, and wherein they have never been ſurpaſſed. The Aminta of Taſſo, and Guarini's Paſtor Fido, ſtill continue to be the delight of all who underſtand the Italian tongue.

Almoſt all the civilized nations of Europe began at that time to ſee the neceſſity of encouraging the theatric arts, which promotes ſociety, ſoftens the manners, and inculcates morality, under the veil of pleaſure. The Spaniards came ſomewhat near to the Italians, but they could not produce any thing regular. There was a theatre in England, but it was ſtill more wild and irregular than that of the Spaniards. Shakeſpeare, indeed, brought it into ſome degree of credit towards the end of the ſixteenth century. His genius pierced through the barbarous darkneſs of the times, as that of Lopez de Vega did in Spain. It is much to be lamented, that we find ſo much more barbariſm than real genius in the works of Shakeſpeare. Whence comes it, that almoſt every one in Stockholm and Peterſburgh know whole Scenes of the Paſtor Fido by heart, while thoſe of Shakeſpeare have never paſſed the limits of their ſea-girt iſland? The reaſon is obvious; real merit will be ſought after by all nations: a people whoſe drama,

drama, muſic, and painting, were adapted only to their own taſte, and exploded by every other polite nation, could not juſtly flatter themſelves with having the gift of good taſte.

The Italians were particularly ſucceſsful in thoſe poetical productions, which were remarkable for their great length, which we would imagine were the moſt difficult of all others, on account of the conſtant ſameneſs of the verſe and ſtanzas, which ſeems to be a cramp to their genius.

POLITE ARTS in the Sixteenth Century.

The INVENTION of PRINTING.

Idem, page 141. THE parliament in 1474 ordered all the books which had been brought to Paris, by a factor from Mentz, to be ſeized.

Certainly a ſtep of this kind would not have been taken in the more enlightened times; but ſuch has always been the fate of public bodies, the moſt learned for their wiſdom, who have acted upon no other foundation than that of ancient forms and cuſtoms. Every thing, that has the appearance of an innovation, ſtartles them. They ſtand up in oppoſition to the riſing arts, withſtand every truth that ſeems contradictory to the errors in which they have been trained up from their youth, and combat every thing that does not fall in with the taſte and manners of old times. It was this very kind of ſpirit that influenced the ſame parliament ſo long, and ſo vehemently, to oppoſe the reformation of the calendar, to forbid the teaching any other tenets than thoſe of Ariſtotle, to prohibit the adminiſtration of Venato, that obliged the court to iſſue ſeveral letters of Juſſien, to make them regiſter the patent of nobility granted to one of the Montmorency family, and that induced them to oppoſe, for a conſiderable time, the eſtabliſhment of the French academy. As no one ſingle member of a public body is reſponſible for the proceedings of that body, the moſt irrational councils ſome-

times paſs uncontradicted. This made the duke of Sully-ſay, in his Memoirs, "That if Wiſdom was to "deſcend upon earth, ſhe would rather fix her reſidence "in the head, than in thoſe of a collective body."

Lewis XI. who never acted badly, where his intereſt was not concerned, and who was always governed by reaſon, when not blinded by his paſſions, took the cognizance of this affair from the parliament; he would not ſuffer the French nation to be for ever diſhonoured by prohibiting the art of printing; but ordered the artiſts of Mentz to be paid the full price of their books.

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Ibid.] About an hundred artiſts of every kind formed that age, which the Italians diſtinguiſhed by the name of the *Seicento*. Several of theſe great geniuſes were unfortunate, and perſecuted; but poſterity has revenged their memories. Their age, like all other ages, produced crimes and calamities; but had that advantage over other ages, which ſuperiority of genius always beſtows. Thus it happened with the age that produced Sophocles and Demoſthenes, and with that which gave the world a Virgil and a Cato. Theſe men who, in their reſpective ſpheres, were the preceptors of the world, could not keep Alexander from killing Clytus, nor Auguſtus from ſigning preſcriptions. Neither could Racine, Corneille, and La Fontaine, prevent Lewis XIV. from committing great faults. Crimes and diſaſters have been the produce of every age; fine arts have had only four.

FRANCIS I. ſet at Liberty in 1526.

Vol. III. ch. ciii. page 157. HENRY d'Albert, who was kept a priſoner in Pavia, found means to eſcape, and returned to France. Francis I. by being better guarded in Madrid, was obliged to purchaſe his liberty, by ceding to the emperor the whole duchy of Burgundy, a part of the Franche Compté, all the places he laid claim to on the other ſide of the Alps, the lordſhips of Flanders and Ortois, the towns of Arras, Liſle, Tournay, Mortague, Hedin,

St.

St. Arnent, and Ochie; and, to complete his humiliation, he marries, while in priſon, the ſiſter of the emperor, his conqueror. The count de Lanoy, one of the emperor's generals, who had taken him priſoner, enters his apartment booted, to oblige him to ſign this forced contract of marriage. The treaty of Madrid proved as fatal as that of Bretigni had been; but Francis I. when at liberty, did not, like king John, fulfil his engagements.

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Idem.] This unfortunate affair redounded very little to the glory of Francis I. He had given his promiſe to Charles V. to put him in poſſeſſion of Burgundy, a promiſe made with weakneſs, and falſified with reaſon, though with diſgrace. He underwent a ſevere reproach from the emperor for his breach of faith; and though he replied, "You lie in your throat, and every time "you ſay ſo, you lie," the law of policy was for Francis; but the laws of chivalry were againſt him.

Pope CLEMENT VII. Priſoner in 1527.

Id. page 158] THE German and French troops lived at diſcretion in Rome during nine months. The plunder of that city is ſaid to have amounted to 15 millions of crowns.

This ſeemed the period to become really emperor of Rome, and to complete what had been begun under the Charlemagnes and the Othos; but by a ſingular fatality which has always ariſen from the mutual jealouſy between nations, the new Roman empire has never been other than a phantom.

Conduct of FRANCIS I.

Vol. III. chap. civ. page 163. IN the year 1535 he cauſed a number of poor Lutherans to be burnt at Paris. Father Daniel puts in the margin of his hiſtory *An Example of Piety*. This example of piety conſiſted in ſuſpending the poor victims on a high gallows, from whence they were lowered

lowered ſeveral times into the fire, till they were thus gradually conſumed. This was an example indeed, but of the moſt refined barbarity, and that fills us with as much horror againſt the hiſtorians who praiſed it, as againſt the judges who ordered it.

It is moreover ſaid, that Francis declared publicly, that he would put his own children to death if they were heretics; and yet, in the height of theſe very proceedings, he wrote to the famous Melancton, one of the founders of the Lutheran religion, inviting him to his court.

Charles V. gave an example of a very different conduct. Although the Lutherans were his profeſſed enemies, ſo far was he from delivering torches into the hands of the executioners, or loading Chriſtians with chains, that, on the contrary, he delivered, from their captivity in Tunis, 18,000 Chriſtian ſlaves, Proteſtants as well as Catholics.

THE GENEVANS.

Idem, page 164. THESE people maintained, that a biſhop has no right to ſovereign authority; that the apoſtles were not princes; and that if, during the times of anarchy and barbariſm, biſhops had uſurped the dominion of provinces, the people in more enlightened times had an undoubted right to take them from them again.

Interview betweeen CHARLES V. and FRANCIS I. in 1536.

Idem, page 166. THERE were many horrible tranſactions in theſe days, and ſome that were ridiculous.

Francis, the dauphin, ſon to Francis I. died of a pleuriſy. One Montecuculli, an Italian, his cupbearer, is accuſed of having poiſoned him, and Charles V. is univerſally looked upon as the author of this murder. But what advantage could the emperor have reaped

reaped by procuring the death of a prince of only 18 years of age, who had never made any noiſe in the world, and who moreover had a brother? However, Montecuculli was drawn in pieces by horſes. This is the horrible part of the affair; now for the ridiculous:

Francis I. who, by the treaty of Madrid, was no longer lord of Artois and Flanders, and who was ſet at liberty only on condition of relinquiſhing that title, cauſes the emperor to be ſummoned to appear before the parliament of Paris, in quality of count of Flanders and Artois, his vaſſal. The attorney-general, Cappel, takes out a decree againſt Charles for non-appearance, and the parliament declares him a rebel.

OF BARBAROSSA IN 1543.

Idem, page 168. HE exerciſed abſolute authority in Toulon. He cauſed a great houſe to be converted into a Turkiſh moſque; thus the ſame king, who had ſuffered ſo many chriſtians of the Lutheran faith to periſh in his kingdom by the moſt cruel torments, permitted the Mahometans the free exerciſe of their religion within his dominions. This is the piety ſo praiſed by father Daniel; and thus it is that hiſtorians diſgrace their characters. An hiſtorian, who was at the ſame time a good member of ſociety, would have acknowledged, that maxims of ſtate had made it neceſſary to burn the Lutherans, and ſhew countenance to the Mahometans.

DEATH OF FRANCIS I.

Idem, page 170. UNDER this prince France began to emerge from barbariſm, and its language became more refined. There are ſtill extant ſome of the productions of thoſe times, which, if they have not all the regularity requiſite, have at leaſt the merit of a ſpritely ſimplicity; ſuch are the epigrams of the biſhop St. Gelais, Clement Marrot, and Francis

Francis I. himself. The following lines were written by him under a picture of the famous Agnes Sorel:

Gentille Agnès plus d'honneur en mérite,
La cause étant de France recouvrer,
Que ce que peut dedans un cloitre ouvrer
Close nonnain ou bien dèvot hermite.

He likewise composed memoirs on military discipline, at the time he was endeavouring to establish in France the Roman legions; but he was obliged to fetch painters, sculptors, and architects, from Italy.

He proposed building the palace of the Louvre, but he had scarce time to lay the first stone. His magnificent design of a royal college could not be executed, but however his bounty established schools for teaching the Greek and Hebrew languages, and geometry, which the universities where not able to teach. There was not a single person in France, before his time, who could so much as read the Greek character.

In the schools, in the courts of justice, in the public acts, and in private contracts, they made use of no other than a bad Latin, called the Latin of the middle age, which was a remnant of the ancient barbarous dialect of the Franks, Lombarbs, Germans, Goths, and English, who neither knew how to form a regular language, nor to speak good Latin.

Rodolphus of Habsbourg had ordered, in Germany, that all pleadings and decrees should be in the language of the country. The same custom was established in Castille, by Alphonsus the Wise, and by Edward III. in England. At length, Francis I. also ordered, that those, who had the misfortune to be engaged in law-suits, should at least have the satisfaction of reading their ruin, in their own mother-tongue. But the refinement of the French tongue was not owing to this order; it is to the spirit of the king and his court that we are indebted for this improvement.

Abdication of CHARLES V. in 1558.

Vol. III. chap. cv. page 173.

IT has been ſaid, that his brain was hurt by his retirement in the monaſtery of St Juſtin; and indeed his paſſing his time in hanging and unhanging pendulums, and in teazing the novices, in playing the farce of his own interment, in wrapping himſelf up in a winding ſheet, and in chaunting forth his own funeral anthem, was no great proof of a ſound mind. The man, who had made Europe and Africa tremble, and who had repulſed the conqueror of Perſia, died mad. His whole family were inſtances of the exceſs of human weakneſs.

His grand-father, Maximilian, wanted to be made pope. His mother Joan went mad, and was confined, and he ſhut himſelf up amongſt a parcel of monks, where he died as mad as his mother.

But here let us not forget, that pope Paul IV. would never acknowledge, as emperor, Ferdinand I. in whoſe favour his brother Charles had reſigned the royal dignity. This pontiff pretended, that Charles had no power to abdicate without his premiſſion. The archbiſhop, elector of Mentz, chancellor of the empire, iſſued all his acts and decrees in the name of Charles V. to the day of that prince's death. This is the final epoch of the pretenſions, which the popes had ſo long ſet up to the diſpoſal of the empire. Had we not already ſeen ſo many examples of theſe pretenſions, we ſhould be apt to imagine, that Paul IV. had his brain more injured than even Charles V.

Of LEO X.

Vol. III. chap cvi. page 178.

IN the hundred articles of complaint ſome time before exhibited by the imperial diet, during the reign of Maximilian I. againſt the abuſes of the church, there is one that charges the biſhops with ſelling to the inferior clergy, for the yearly payment of one crown, the

the right of keeping a miſtreſs, which ſum was to be paid whether they made uſe of this indulgence or not.

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The birth of learning in part of Germany, in London, and afterwards in Paris, in conſequence of the improvement of the art of printing, laid the foundation for the ruin of the eccleſiaſtical monarchy. Certain natives of Lower Germany, whom the Italians had always held as barbarians, were the firſt who accuſtomed the minds of people to diſuſe what had once been the object of their veneration. Eraſmus, notwithſtanding he had himſelf been for a conſiderable time a monk, rather for that very reaſon, expoſed theſe gentry in ſo ridiculous a light in moſt of his writings, that they were never able to get the better of it. The author of *Letters of obſcure Men*, diverted all Germany at the expence of the Italians. The latter, till that time, thought the Germans not capable of being good jokers; but they were now cured of their error, and the German pleaſantry prepared the way for a revolution, that proved of the moſt ſerious conſequence to Italy.

OF LUTHER, &c.

Vol. III. chap. cvii. and cviii. page 182, 191.

YOU may have obſerved, that all the diſputes about religion came hitherto from the prieſts, for Pietro Valdo, the merchant of Lyons, who paſſes for the author of the ſect of the Vaudois, was not ſo, but only aſſembled together his brethren, and encouraged them to perſiſt in what they had begun. He himſelf was the follower of the doctrine of Berenger, of Charles biſhop of Turin, and of ſeveral others of the ſame opinion; and it was not till after Luther's time that ſuch crowds of laymen began to take up the buſineſs of teachers, in conſequence of the various tranſlations of the Bible, which, as they differed in their interpretations, gave riſe to as many different opinions as there were different paſſages to explain.

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The Lutherans were for having new verſions of the Bible, in all the modern languages, and that theſe verſions ſhould be purged from all the inaccuracies and errors with which the Vulgate is charged. In fact, when the council ſet about printing the common verſion, the ſix perſons appointed to ſuperintend the work, diſcovered no leſs than 8000 faults in the old verſion, and ſeveral learned men pretended there were many more; ſo that at length the council declared the Vulgate verſion to be authentic, without being at the pains of the propoſed correction. The preſent German Bible was tranſlated by Luther from the original Hebrew; but it is ſaid he knew very little of Hebrew, and that his tranſlation is much more faulty than the Vulgate.

Luther inſiſted, that all monaſtic vows ſhould be ſet aſide, becauſe not of primitive inſtitution; that prieſts ſhould be allowed to marry, becauſe ſome of the apoſtles had married wives; that the laity ſhould partake of the cup, becauſe Jeſus ſaid, *Drink all of ye*; that no worſhip ſhould be paid to images, becauſe Chriſt worſhipped no image. In a word, he agreed with the church of Rome in no one point but that of the trinity, baptiſm, the incarnation, and the reſurrection; points which, nevertheleſs, had been formerly ſubjects of the ſharpeſt diſputes, and ſome of them had been actually controverted in late days, ſo that there is no one point of devotion concerning which mankind have not been divided at one time or another.

Id. page 188.] Had both ſides confined themſelves to invectives and abuſe, Luther would have done leſs hurt to the church of Rome than Eraſmus; but ſome bold doctors having joined Luther, raiſed their voices, and began to exclaim not only againſt the dogmas of ſchools, but alſo againſt the right, which the popes, ever ſince the time of Gregory VII. had aſſumed to themſelves, of diſpoſing of kingdoms. They likewiſe inveighed againſt the ſhameful traffic made of every thing belonging to religion, againſt public and private oppreſſion, and both

both in their writings, and from their pulpits, drew a moving picture of five hundred years of perſecution. They repreſented Germany bathed in blood, through the quarrels between the diadem and the tiara, the people treated like wild beaſts, and heaven opened or ſhut for money, by wretches guilty of inceſt, murder, and poiſoning. With what face, ſaid they, could Alexander VI. the horror and ſcandal of human kind, dare to call himſelf the vicar of God? or how could Leo X. ſunk in the moſt ſhameful pleaſure, preſume to take that title?

The people were at length awakened by theſe repeated cries, and the German doctors ſtirred up a greater hatred againſt new Rome than ever Varus had done againſt the old in the ſame country.

OF ZUINGLIUS.

Idem, page 189. WHEN we ſee a people, of all others in Europe the leaſt reſtleſs and changeable, quit on a ſudden one religion to embrace another, there muſt infallibly have been ſome particular cauſe to make ſo violent an impreſſion on all minds. That which brought about ſo ſudden a revolution in the opinions of the people of Switzerland, was as follows.

The two orders of Franciſcans and Dominicans had been at open enmity with each other, ever ſince the thirteenth century. The latter had loſt a great part of their credit with the people, on account of their not paying ſo much honour to the Virgin Mary, as their antagoniſts the Cordeliers or Franciſcans, and that they denied her, with St. Thomas ‡ the monk, of having been born without ſin. The Franciſcans, on the other hand, gained ground daily, by preaching up on all occaſions the doctrine of immaculate conception, maintained by St. Bonaventure. The mutual hatred and animoſity between theſe two orders was ſo great, that,

‡ St. Thomas d'Aquinas. See note to chap. cxviii. page 131. Vol. IV.

in

In the year 1503, a Franciſcan being one day preaching at Frankfort, on the ſubject of the bleſſed Virgin, and ſeeing a Dominican enter the church, he cried out in the midſt of his ſermon, that he bleſſed God he was not of that order, which depreciated the mother of God herſelf, and who poiſoned kings and emperors with the conſecrated elements. The Dominican, whoſe name was Vigan, replied with a loud voice, that he was a liar and an heretic. Upon this the Franciſcan quits his pulpit, gathers the people together, and drives his enemy out of the church, after beating him in ſuch a manner with a crucifix, that he is left dead at the door. The next year, 1504, the Dominicans held a chapter of their order at Wimpſen, in which it is reſolved to take vengeance of the Franciſcans, and to deſtroy their credit, and even their doctrine, by bringing the Virgin Mary herſelf into the field againſt them. Berne was fixed upon to be the theatre of this ſcene. They begin by ſpreading reports for three years together, of the mother of God having appeared ſeveral times to different perſons, reproaching the Franciſcans with their doctrine of immaculate conception, which ſhe ſaid was horrible blaſphemy, and tended to rob her ſon of the glory of having cleanſed her from original ſin, and the power of hell. The Franciſcans, on their parts, were not behind hand in oppoſing other apparitions. But at length, in the year 1507, the Dominicans having brought over a young lay-brother, called Yetſer, made him their inſtrument to work upon the minds of the people. It was an eſtabliſhed opinion in the convents of all orders, that if a novice quitted the habit, and did not make his profeſſion, his ſoul remained in purgatory till the laſt judgment, unleſs it was releaſed by prayers, or alms given to the convent.

The prior of the convent, who was a Dominican, entered Yetſer's cell in the night, in a habit painted with devils, a great chain about his middle, leading four dogs, and caſting flames out of his mouth, by means of a little round box filled with the pickings of flax, and ſet on fire. This horrible figure told the half-ſcared Yetſer,

Yetſer, that he was a monk, who in former times had quitted his habit, for which his ſoul was thrown into purgatory, but that it might be delivered from thence if Yetſer would conſent to ſuffer himſelf to be flogged by the monks before the great altar. Yetſer complied without heſitating, and delivered the monk's ſoul from purgatory, who appeared to him a ſecond time, clad in a white robe, and ſurrounded with glory, to ſhew him that he was in heaven, and to recommend to him the cauſe of the bleſſed virgin, whom the Franciſcans reviled.

Some few nights after, St. Barba, for whom brother Yetſer had a great veneration (that is, another monk dreſt up for the purpoſe) appeared to him, and told him, that he was a ſaint, and that the holy virgin had choſen him to avenge her cauſe againſt the damnable doctrine of the Cordeliers.

At length the virgin herſelf deſcended into his cell through the cieling, attended by two angels, and commanded him to declare to the world that ſhe was born in original ſin, and that the Cordeliers were the greateſt enemies of her ſon; and then ſhe concluded with telling him, that ſhe would honour him with the five wounds with which St. Lucia and St. Catharine had been honoured.

The next night, the monk having made the lay-brother drink heartily of wine, in which they had infuſed a quantity of opium, they pierced his hands, his feet, and his ſide, while he was aſleep. When he awoke, he found himſelf all over blood. The monks cried aloud that the holy virgin had imprinted the ſtigma on him, and in this condition they expoſed him at the altar to the view of the people.

However, weak as brother Yetſer was, he imagined he had diſtinguiſhed the voice of the ſub-prior in that of the bleſſed virgin, and began to think the whole an impoſture; upon which, the monks, without further ceremony, reſolved to poiſon him; and accordingly, when he came next to take the ſacrament, they gave him a conſecrated wafer, which they had previouſly ſprinkled thick with the powder of corroſive ſublimate;

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he ſharpneſs of which upon his tongue obliged him to pit out the wafer, and thereupon the monks inſtantly ried out ſacrilege, and loaded him with chains. To ve his life, he promiſed upon another hoſt, that he ould never reveal the ſecret: however, having found eans, ſome time afterwards, to make his eſcape out of he convent, he went and made a diſcovery of the hole affair to a magiſtrate. The cauſe was two years epending; at the end of which time, four Dominicans ere burnt before the gate of Rome, the laſt day of lay 1509, O. S. in conſequence of the ſentence pro-ounced upon them by a biſhop, ſent from Rome for that urpoſe.

This adventure brought the monks into that abhor-ence which they juſtly deſerved; and thoſe, who began he reformation, did not fail to revive the ſtory with all he aggravations they could deviſe, never once reflecting, hat the author of this ſacrilegious act had been puniſhed y the ſee of Rome itſelf, in the moſt exemplary man-er. In ſhort, every thing was forgot but the action: he people, who had been witneſſes to this ſhocking af-air, were ready to believe every tittle of the charge of rofanation and ſacrilege brought againſt the monks, ſpecially thoſe of the mendicant order, and in which he whole church was included. If thoſe, who ſtill dhered to the worſhip of the church of Rome, ob-ected, that the holy ſee was not anſwerable for the rimes of the monks, they were told of the vile actions f ſeveral popes, who had been a diſgrace to their ſacred haracter and function. Nothing is more eaſy than to ender a whole body odious by a detail of the crimes of ome of its members.

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Id. page 191.] The opinion that it is ſufficient to e virtuous to merit eternal happineſs, has been adopted y a great number of the learned men of our modern imes; they have thought it abominable to look upon he father of all nature as a mercileſs tyrant to the great-ſt part of human kind, and a loving father only to a articular ſet of men in a few ſmall countries. Theſe learned

learned men have doubtleſs been miſtaken; but how humane is their error!

The Progreſs of LUTHERANISM.

Vol. III. chap. cix. page 192, 193. A POWER, that had the right of always governing men in the name of God, would ſoon make an ill uſe of that power. Mankind have often found themſelves, in religion as well as in government, between a ſtate of anarchy and tyranny, ready to fall into one or other of the gulphs.

Id. page 194.] The law by which a man is allowed only one wife, is ſometimes attended with fatal conſequences, and may require certain exceptions as well as many other laws. There are ſome caſes in which the intereſt of families and even of the ſtate ſeems to require a perſon to take a ſecond wife during the lifetime of the firſt, where an heir is abſolutely neceſſary, and cannot be had by the firſt. The law of nature then acts in concert with the public good; and as the end of marriage is to have children, it ſeems a contradiction to prohibit the only means for attaining that end.

There was but one of all the popes who properly attended to this law of nature, viz. Gregory II. who in his famous Decretal, publiſhed in the year 726, declared, that "when a man had an infirm wife, who "was incapable of performing the conjugal functions, "he might marry a ſecond, provided he took proper "care of the firſt." Luther went many ſteps beyond pope Gregory II.

Ibid.] Trevor, lord chancellor of England in the reign of Charles II. was privately married to a ſecond wife, with the conſent of the firſt. He wrote a ſmall treatiſe in favour of polygamy, and lived perfectly happy with his two wives. But caſes of this kind are extremely rare.

OF THE ANABAPTISTS.

Vol. III. chap. cx. page 195.

LUTHER had been ſucceſsful in ſtirring up the princes, nobles, and magiſtrates of Germany againſt the pope and the biſhops. Muncer ſtirred up the peaſants againſt them. He and his companions went about addreſſing themſelves to the inhabitants of the country-villages in Suabia, Miſnia, Thuringia, and Franconia. They laid open that dangerous truth, which is implanted in every breaſt, that all men are born equal; ſaying, that if the popes had treated the princes like their ſubjects, the princes had treated the common people like beaſts.

It muſt be acknowledged, that the manifeſto publiſhed by theſe ſavages in the name of *the men who till the earth*, might have been ſigned by Lycurgus. They demanded to be exempted from the payment of all tythes but that of corn; and that a part thereof might be applied to the ſupport of the poor; that they might be permitted to hunt and fiſh for their neceſſary ſubſiſtence; that air and water might be free; that their day-labour * might be moderated; and that they might be allowed a little wood to warm themſelves. They only claimed the rights common to mankind; but they ſupported their claim like ſavage beaſts.

The cruelties, which had been exerciſed by the common people in France and England, in the reigns of Charles VI. and Henry V. were now renewed in Germany, and blown into a fiercer flame, by the breath of fanaticiſm. Muncer makes himſelf maſter of the town of Mulhauſen in Thuringia, and while he every where preaches up a general equality of rank and poſſeſſions, obliges the inhabitants to bring all their money and effects, and lay them at his feet. The peaſants all take up arms from Saxony to Alſace. They murder all the gentlemen that come in their way, and put to death

* The French word is *corvee*, which ſignifies a day's work due from a vaſſal or tenant, to his landlord.

a daughter

a daughter of the emperor Maximilian I. One very remarkable circumſtance is, that, like the ſlaves of old, who revolted from the Romans, and who, when they found themſelves incapable of governing, choſe for their king one of their maſters, who had eſcaped the general ſlaughter, ſo theſe peaſants put a gentleman at their head.

OF ANABAPTISM.

Vol. III. chap. cxi. page 198. SUCH of the conſpirators who could be found were put to death, without mercy; and at that time all the Anabaptiſts throughout the united provinces, were treated as the Dutch had been by the Spaniards; they were drowned, ſtrangled, or burnt; and, whether concerned in the conſpiracy or not, whether factious or peaceable, they were fallen upon by the people of the Low Countries, as monſters, of whom it was neceſſary to rid the earth.

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Id. page 199] The change in the manners of the Anabaptiſts is owing to their having joined the party of the Unitarians, a ſect that hold only one God; but profeſs great reverence for Jeſus Chriſt. They have neither dogmas nor controverſies, and though held as reprobate by other communions, live in peace with them all.

Of the religion in France during the reign of FRANCIS I.

Vol. III. chap. cxvii. page 225. THEIR chief object was that of a concordat like the Germanic concordat. The Germans, ever jealous of their privileges, had ſtipulated with pope Nicholas V. that the election among the clergy ſhould remain in full force through the whole German empire; that they ſhould pay no annates to Rome; that the pope ſhould have only the right of nominating to certain

tain canonſhips during ſix months in the year; and that thoſe who were in poſſeſſion ſhould pay to the pope a certain ſum then agreed upon. The rich German canonſhips were ſtill looked upon as a great abuſe by the civilians, and this fee paid to the ſee of Rome as no better than ſimony. It was according to them a burthenſome and ſcandalous bargain, to pay a ſum to an Italian prince for the privilege of enjoying a benefice in Germany or France. This kind of traffic ſeemed to ſtamp an infamy upon religion; and the political calculators proved it to be an error of the moſt capital kind, for the ſubjects of France to ſend to Rome a yearly ſum of 400,000 livres, at a time when their own trade did not bring them in ſo much as they loſt by this pernicious contract. If the pope exacted this money in the light of a tribute, it was not to be ſuffered; if only as a charitable donation, it was too much: but, in ſhort, every thing was done for money. Relics, indulgences, diſpenſations, benefices, all were ſold to the beſt bidder.

If religion was to be thus put up at auction, it was better, no doubt, to turn this ſimony to the benefit of the ſtate, than to the profit of a biſhop, who was a ſtranger, and who, by the law of nature and nations, had no more right to receive the firſt year's profit of a benefice in France, than of the revenue of China or the Indies.

This agreement, which at that time occaſioned ſo many heart-burnings, was made juſt before the great rupture which happened between the whole North, all England, and part of Germany, and the ſee of Rome, which latter, in a ſhort time, became more and more hated in France; and religion itſelf was in danger of ſuffering from the diſlike which the church of Rome had brought upon herſelf.

This was for a long time the cry of all the magiſtrates, colleges, and univerſities; and theſe complaints were ſtill further aggravated by the appearance of a bull iſſued by the voluptuous Leo X. in which the Pragmatic Sanction is called, *the depravity of the kingdom of France*.

An inſult of this kind offered to a whole nation by a bull, in which St. Paul is quoted at the ſame time that money is demanded, ſtill excites the indignation of the public.

OF RELIGIOUS ORDERS.

Vol. III chap. cxviii. page 235. THERE reigned a moſt ſcandalous enmity between the old order of the Black Friars, and the new one of the White *. This jealouſy reſembled that between the green and blue factions in the Roman empire; but it did not cauſe the ſame ſeditions.

Id. page 236] The Franciſcans or Cordeliers were the moſt numerous and the moſt buſy of any of the other orders. Francis d'Aſſiſi, who firſt founded this order in the year 1210, was at the ſame time the moſt ſimple and the moſt enthuſiaſtic man in the world; fanaticiſm was the ſpirit of the times, and in ſome meaſure that of the lower claſs of the cruſaders of the Vaudois and of the Albigenſes. Francis therefore found a number of people of the ſame diſpoſition as himſelf; and of theſe he formed a ſect. We have already ſeen examples of his great zeal, and that of his companions in the holy wars, where he propoſed to the ſultan of Egypt to turn Chriſtian, and friar Giles perſiſted ſo obſtinately in preaching his faith to the people of Morocco.

Never were the extravagances of the human mind carried to ſo great a length as in the book of *the Conformity of St. Francis with Chriſt*, which was written during his life time, and which was afterwards reprinted with conſiderable additions in the beginning by a Franciſcan friar called Bartholomew Albici; in which book Chriſt is made to have been only the forerunner of Francis. In this book likewiſe we find the ſtory of the woman of ſnow, that St. Francis formed with his own hands; of his miraculous cure of the mad wolf,

* The Franciſcans and Dominicans.

whom

whom he made to promiſe that he would never devour any more ſheep; and that of a friar of their order, who being made a biſhop, was afterwards depoſed by the pope, and who, having died during his depoſition, returned again to life, and carried a letter of rebuke to the ſame pope.

The Minims did neither hurt nor good. This order was founded by a man of a weak judgment; one Franciſco Martorillo, the ſame whom Lewis XI. deſired to prolong his life. This Martorillo having made a rule in Calabria, that his monks ſhould eat every thing with oil, becauſe oil is to be had in that country for little or nothing, made the ſame rule for the monks, whom he eſtabliſhed in the northern countries of France, where no olives grow, and where of conſequence oil is ſometimes ſo dear, that the eating it is a luxury rather than a mortification or ſavingneſs.

OF THE JESUITS.

Idem, page 239. POPE Paul III. in the year 1540, publiſhed their bull of inſtitution, with an expreſs clauſe that their number ſhould never exceed ſixty, notwithſtanding which Ignatius before his death ſaw above a thouſand in his order. At length he ſuffered his enthuſiaſtic zeal to be a little governed by diſcretion. His book of ſpiritual exerciſes, which was to ſerve as a directory to his diſciples, was indeed altogether romantic. He there repreſents God as the general of an army, and the Jeſuits as his captains. But a perſon may write very badly and yet govern well. He was aſſiſted by one Laines and Salmeron, who having acquired ſome ſkill in theſe matters, aſſiſted him in compoſing the rules of his order. Francis de Borgia, duke of Gandia, grandſon to pope Alexander VI. and nephew of Cæſar Borgia, one as weak and fanatic as his grandfather and uncle were wicked and deceitful, entered into the order of the Jeſuits, and was the firſt who procured it its riches and credit. Francis Xavier by his miſſion to the Indies and Japan rendered it famous

mous. The ardour, obſtinacy, and mixture of enthuſiaſm and inſinuation, which is the character of every new inſtitution, gained the Jeſuits a reception in almoſt all ſtates, notwithſtanding the vehement oppoſitions they had to encounter. They could not, however, eſtabliſh themſelves in France till the year 1561, and then only on condition that they ſhould never take the name of Jeſuits, and ſhould be ſubject to the authority of the biſhops. The name of Jeſuit was thought too pompous. They were reproached with endeavouring to arrogate to themſelves alone, a title common to all Chriſtians, and the vows they took to the pope gave cauſe of jealouſy.

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We ought not certainly to attribute to their inſtitution, or to the effect of a determined and general plan, always kept in view, the crimes which, through the fatality of the times, ſome of this order have been led to commit. It certainly was not the fault of Ignatius, that Matthew Guignard, Gueret, and ſeveral other of the Jeſuits, both wrote and caballed againſt Henry IV. with ſo much fury, or that thoſe of their order have ſince been driven out of Portugal for rebellion and regicide, any more than it was the fault of the founder of the Dominican order, that one of that body poiſoned the emperor Henry VII. in giving him the ſacrament, and that another aſſaſſinated Henry III. of France. Nor is St. Benedict to be charged with the death of the duke of Guienne, brother to Lewis XI. who was poiſoned by a Benedictine monk. No religious order whatever was originally founded with criminal nor even political views.

OF NUNS.

Idem, page 247. POPE St. Leo, whoſe memory is ſtill held in the greateſt eſteem, ordered in the year 458, conjunctly with other biſhops, that no ſingle woman ſhould be permitted to take the veil before ſhe was forty years of age, and the emperor Majorianus made this wiſe law of the church, a law

law of ſtate. An imprudent zeal, however, deſtroyed in time what wiſdom and prudence had eſtabliſhed.

OF THE INQUISITION.

Vol. III. chap. cxix. page 247, 256.

THE inquiſition is milder in Rome and Italy, where the Jews enjoy great privileges, and where the inhabitants are more ſolicitous to make their own fortunes, and thoſe of their relations, than to diſpute about myſteries. Pope Paul IV. who granted too extenſive a power to the tribunal of the inquiſition at Rome, was deteſted for it by the people. They diſturbed his funeral obſequies; threw his ſtatue into the Tyber; demoliſhed the priſons of the inquiſition; and ſtoned the officers of that tribunal. Nevertheleſs, the Romiſh inquiſition had not put any one to death, during the pontificate of Paul IV. His ſucceſſor Pius IV. was more cruel; he cauſed three unhappy ſcholars to be burnt for not thinking like other people; but the Italian inquiſition, in the utmoſt ſtretch of its power, never equalled the cruelties of that in Spain. The greateſt injury it ever did to Italy was the keeping as much as poſſible an inquiſitive and ſpirited people in ignorance. Thoſe who will write are obliged to aſk permiſſion of a Jacobine to think, and of others to read. Men of learning, of which there are a great number in Italy, complain in ſecret; the reſt live in a round of pleaſure and ignorance; and the lower people are ſunk in ſuperſtition. The greater ſpirit the Italians have ſhewn, the greater efforts have been made to curb it; and this ſpirit has only ſerved to bring them under the laſh of the monks, whoſe hands they are obliged to kiſs in ſeveral provinces, as in former times, it ſerved only to ſubject them more to the Goths, the Lombards, the Franks, and the Teutonians.

Of the Diſcoveries of the PORTUGUESE.

Vol. III. chap. cxx. PRINCE Henry of Portugal took for his device, *Talent de bien faire.*

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Id. page 257.] The Negro race is a ſpecies of men as different from ours, as the breed of ſpaniels is from that of greyhounds. The mucous membrane, or net-work, which nature has ſpread between the muſcles and the ſkin, is white in us, and black or copper-coloured in them. The famous Ruiſch was the firſt in our time, who, in diſſecting a Negro at Amſterdam, was ſo happily ſkilful as to raiſe the whole of this mucoreticular membrane. Czar Peter purchaſed it of him; but Ruiſch kept a ſmall piece for himſelf, which I have ſeen, and is like a piece of black gauze. If a Negro by accident burns himſelf, ſo that this membrane is hurt, his ſkin turns brown in the place, otherwiſe it comes black again as before. Their eyes are not formed like ours. The black wool on their heads and other parts, has no reſemblance to our hair; and it may be ſaid, that if their underſtanding is not of a different nature from ours, it is at leaſt greatly inferior. They are not capable of any great application or aſſociation of ideas, and ſeem formed neither for the advantages nor abuſes of our philoſophy. They are a race peculiar to that part of Africa, the ſame as elephants and monkeys. The Negroes of the empire of Morocco are a warlike, hardy, and cruel people, and often ſuperior in the field to the ſun-burnt tawny troops, whom they call white. They think themſelves born in Guinea, to be ſold to the whites, and to ſerve them.

There are ſeveral kinds of Negroes. Thoſe of Guinea, Ethiopia, Madagaſcar, and the Indies, are all different. The blacks of Guinea and Congo have wool; the others long, ſhaggy hair. The petty nations of blacks, who have but little commerce with other nations, are ſtrangers to all kind of religious worſhip. The firſt degree of ſtupidity is to think only of the preſent, and of bodily wants. This was the ſtate of

ſeveral

ſeveral nations, and eſpecially thoſe which inhabited iſlands. The ſecond degree is to foreſee by halves, without being able to form any fixed ſociety; to behold the ſtars with wonder and amazement; to celebrate certain feaſts, to make a general rejoicing on the return of certain ſeaſons, or the appearance of a particular ſtar, without going further, or having any diſtinct poſitive idea. In this middle ſtate between imbecility and infant reaſon, many nations have continued for ſeveral ages.

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Id. page 260.] By an odd chance we find the ſouthern pole, and the four ſtars, which are neareſt to it, ſpoken of by the famous Dante *. Had there been a neceſſity for a prediction to eſtabliſh ſome right or opinion, what advantages would not have been made of this prophecy? how clear it would have appeared! and with how much zeal would thoſe have been perſecuted who had preſumed to explain it rationally!

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Id. page 262.] The Portugueſe did not at this time form any ſettlements on the Cape of Good-Hope, which the Dutch have ſince made one of the moſt delicious habitations on the earth, and where they cultivate, with ſucceſs, the productions of the four quarters of the world. The natives of this country reſemble neither the Whites nor the Negroes; they are all of a deep olive-colour, having long ſhaggy hair, and are born, both men and women, with a piece of ſkin, which hangs down from their navels, and covers the private parts in the form of an apron, which they can take up or let down at pleaſure. Their organs of ſpeech are different from ours; for they utter a kind of rattling or ſtuttering ſound, which it is impoſſible for any but themſelves to underſtand or imitate. Theſe people were not cannibals; on the contrary, their manners were mild and innocent. It is certain they did not carry their portion of reaſon ſo far as to have knowledge of a

* Above one hundred years before this diſcovery, in the firſt canto of his Purgatory.

Supreme Being; but were in that degree of ſtupidity which admits of imperfect ſociety, founded on their common wants. Peter Kolb, the maſter of arts, who lived ſo long among them, is certain that thoſe people are deſcendents from Keturah, one of Abraham's wives, and that they worſhip a little black beetle. We know very little about their religion, and as to their pedigree I queſtion much whether Peter Kolb's informations were very authentic.

The firſt philoſophers who travelled into Egypt and Colchos were ſtruck with ſupriſe at the ceremony of circumciſion; but the Hottentots have an operation which is much more ſurpriſing. It has always been a cuſtom with them to deprive all their males of one teſticle, without knowing how, or on what account this cuſtom was firſt introduced amongſt them. Some of them have told the Dutch that this operation made them more light and active for the chace, and others that the aromatic herbs with which they fill the cavity in the ſcrotum, from whence the teſticle is taken, makes them more vigorous and robuſt. It is certain they can have no other than a bad reaſon to give for ſuch a practice, and the ſame may be ſaid of many cuſtoms in other parts of the world.

OF JAPAN.

Vol. III. chap. cxxi. page 263, &c.

THE famous Francis Xavier, a Portugueſe jeſuit, a man of a bold and indefatigable zeal, was the firſt who ſowed the ſeeds of the goſpel in theſe parts. He accompanied the merchants, who traded to ſeveral of the Japan iſlands, ſometimes in the character of a pilgrim, and ſometimes with all the pomp and apparatus of an apoſtolic vicar, and deputy of the pope. It is certain, that being obliged to make uſe of an interpreter, he made but an inconſiderable progreſs in the beginning of his miſſion; he himſelf ſays in his letters, "I do not underſtand theſe people, nor they me; we "ſpell like children learning to read." After ſuch a confeſſion,

confeſſion, the writers of his life had, one would imagine, no great reaſon to attribute to him the gift of tongues; nor ſhould they have held the underſtandings of their readers in ſo contemptible a light as to aſſert that, having loſt his crucifix, it was brought him again by a crab; that he was preſent in two places at one and the ſame time; and that he raiſed nine dead perſons to life. They might have contented themſelves with praiſing his zeal and power of reſiſting temptations. After ſome time, Xavier learned enough of the Japaneſe language to make himſelf tolerably well underſtood. The princes of ſeveral of the iſlands of that empire, who were moſt of them diſſatisfied with their bonzes, were not ſorry to ſee foreign preachers come amongſt them to oppoſe thoſe who had abuſed their functions; and the Chriſtian religion was by degrees eſtabliſhed.

OF INDIA.

Idem, page 270.

IN the middlemoſt parts of Africa, there is a race, though very few in number, of little men, who are as white as ſnow, with faces like thoſe of the negroes, and round eyes exactly reſembling thoſe of partridges. The Portugueſe call them *Albinos*; they are ſmall, weak, and look aſkew. The wool that covers their heads, and of which their eye-brows are formed, is like very fine white cotton. They are inferior to the negroes or blacks in bodily ſtrength and underſtanding; and are perhaps intended by nature as the next ſpecies after the Negroes and the Hottentots, ſomewhat above monkeys, and as one of the degrees deſcending from human kind to the brute creation. Perhaps alſo there may have been a middle ſpecies, inferior to theſe, who have been deſtroyed by time, and their own weakneſs. Two of theſe creatures have been ſeen in France; and I myſelf have ſeen one in the hotel de Bretagne at Paris, which a negro merchant had brought over with him. There are ſome of thoſe animals in the eaſtern parts of Aſia, which greatly reſemble the human ſpecies, but they are very rare, and require that tenderneſs and care from the reſt of the

human race in order to their preſervation, which we ſeldom ſhew to things that are not of ſome uſe to us.

The firſt thing which Pelſart ſaw in 1630, in thoſe parts of the Terra Auſtralis, which are divided from our hemiſphere, and which is now called New Holland, was a troop of negroes, who came walking towards him on their hands, in the ſame manner as upon feet. It is probable that when we ſhall have penetrated farther into this new ſouthern world, we ſhall become better acquainted with the infinite variety in nature; and that every thing will conduce to enlarge our ideas, and diminiſh our prejudices.

Idem, page 178, 179.] We muſt be as ignorant and as inconſiderate as the monks of the middle age, to indulge ourſelves in the vain notion, that all beyond our little ſpot Europe, that our ancient maſters and legiſlators the Romans, that the Greeks their maſters, and the ancient Egyptian prieſts the maſters of the Greeks, in a word, that all nations but ourſelves have been always a ſet of deteſtable and abſurd idolaters.

OF ETHIOPIA OR ABYSSINIA.

THE Abyſſinians, who are a mixture of half Jews, half Chriſtians, acknowledge for their patriarch an archbiſhop, who reſides in the ruins of Alexandria, or Grand Cairo in Egyt. This patriarch is not of their religion, but of the ancient Greek communion, which communion differs again from the Greek religion. The Turkiſh government, however, ſuffer this little flock to remain unmoleſted, and do not concern themſelves whether theſe Chriſtians plunge their new-born infants into a great tub of water, or carry their god to the houſes of their lying-in-women, under the form of a piece of bread ſteeped in wine. Theſe people would not be ſuffered in Rome, and yet we find them tolerated by Mahometans.

IDLE

IDLE DISPUTES.

How AMERICA came to be peopled, Specific differences between AMERICA and the NEW WORLD. Men-eaters. Religions. Reaſons why the NEW WORLD is leſs populous than the OLD.

IF it was an effect of philoſophy that diſcovered America, it certainly is not one to be every day aſking, how it happened that men were found upon this continent, and how they had been tranſported thither? If we are not ſurpriſed to find that there are flies in America, it is very ſtupid to expreſs our wonder that there ſhould be men there alſo. The ſavage who thinks himſelf a production of the climate in which he lives, the ſame as his *Original* and *Manioc* root, is not more ignorant than ourſelves in this point, and reaſons better. In fact, as the negro of Africa has not his original from us whites, why ſhould the red, olive, or aſh-coloured people of America, come from our countries? and beſides, which was the primitive or mother-country of all the others?

Were the flowers, fruits, trees and animals, with which Nature covers the face of the earth, planted by her at firſt only in one ſpot, in order that they might from thence be ſpread over the reſt of the world? Where muſt that ſpot have been which firſt produced all the graſs, and all the oats, and diſperſed them afterwards thro' all other parts of the globe? How were the moſs and the firs of Norway conveyed to the countries of the ſouthern pole? You cannot ſuppoſe any one country which is not almoſt wholly deſtitute of ſome of the productions of another. We muſt ſuppoſe then, that originally it had every thing, and that now it has nothing. Every climate has its different productions, and the moſt fruitful is extremely poor, in compariſon with all the others put together. The great maſter of nature has peopled with variety the whole globe. The firs of Norway certainly are not the parents of the clove trees of the Molucca Iſlands; as little are they indebted for

their

their origin to the firs of any other country. We may as well ſuppoſe the graſs growing in Archangel to be produced by that on the banks of the Ganges. It would never come into our heads to ſuppoſe that the caterpillars and ſnails of one part of the world were produced in another part. Why then ſhould we be ſurprized that America produces ſome ſpecies of animals, and ſome race of men, reſembling ours?

Not only America, but Africa and Aſia alſo, produce and contain vegetables and animals reſembling thoſe in Europe; and each of thoſe continents do likewiſe produce many kinds that have not the leaſt reſemblance with thoſe of the old world.

The lands in Mexico, Peru, and Canada, never bear wheat, which is a part of our food; nor grapes, which make our common drink; nor olives, which is ſo uſeful a fruit to us; nor indeed the greateſt part of our other fruits. All our beaſts of burthen, ſuch as horſes, camels, aſſes, oxen, were creatures wholly unknown in that part of the world; they had indeed a kind of oxen and ſheep, but altogether different from ours. The ſheep of Peru were larger and ſtronger than thoſe of Europe, and were made uſe of to carry loads: their oxen were a breed ſomewhat between our camel and buffalo. There is a ſpecies of hogs in Mexico, which have their navel at their backs, inſtead of their bellies, as in all other quadrupeds. There are neither dogs nor cats in this country: there are lions here, indeed, and in Peru, but very ſmall, and almoſt without hair, and what is moſt extraordinary, the lion of theſe climates is a cowardly creature.

You may, if you pleaſe, reduce all mankind to one ſingle ſpecies, becauſe they have the ſame organs of life, ſenſe, and motion; but this ſpecies is evidently divided into ſeveral others, whether we conſider it in a phyſical or moral light.

As to the firſt of theſe, the Eſquimaux, a race of people inhabiting the 60th degree of North latitude, are ſaid to reſemble the Laplanders in figure and ſtature. The neighbouring people have faces covered with hair. The Iroquois, the Hurons, and all the people of that tract,

tract, as far as Florida, are olive-coloured, and without the leaſt appearance of hair on any part of the body, except their heads. Captain Rogers, who ſailed along the coaſt of California, diſcovered a ſpecies of negroes, unknown in America. On the Iſthmus of Panama there is a race of people called Dariens, who greatly reſemble the Albinos of Africa. They are at moſt four feet high; they are white, and are the only native people of all America who are of a white colour; they have red eyes, bordered with eye-laſhes in the form of a ſemi-circle. They never ſtir out of their holes but in the night-time, not being able to ſee in day-light, and are to the reſt of mankind what owls are to the feathered race. The natives of Mexico and Peru are of a copper colour, thoſe of Braſil of a deeper red, and the people of Chili are more aſh-coloured; the ſize of the Patagonians, or inhabitants of the Streights of Magellan, has been greatly exaggerated: the truth ſeems to be, that they are by far the talleſt people of any in the known world.

Amongſt all theſe nations, ſo greatly differing from us, and from each other, there has never yet been found a race of men living without ſociety, wandering as chance might direct, like the brutes, or like them coupling promiſcuouſly, or quitting their females to go in queſt of food by themſelves: ſuch a ſtate ſeems not compatible with human nature, which, by the inſtinct of ſpecies, affects ſociety as it does liberty. Hence we find, that the ſhutting up of a priſoner in a priſon, where he is debarred any commerce with the reſt of mankind, is one of the many puniſhments invented by tyrants, for the torture of their fellow-creatures, and is a puniſhment which would appear leſs ſupportable to a ſavage than to civilized man.

From the Streights of Magellan to Hudſon's-Bay, there are a number of families gathered under one chief, and living in huts which compoſe villages; but we have no inſtance in thoſe parts of any wandering people abandoning their habitations, according to the ſeaſons, like the Arabians, Badouins, and Tartars. The reaſon ſeems to be, that theſe people, not having any beaſts of burthen,

burthen, could not ſo eaſily tranſport their cabins. We every where meet with certain fixed idioms, by which the moſt ſavage nations are enabled to expreſs the few ideas they are maſters of; this is another inſtinct peculiar to mankind, to denote their wants by certain articulate ſounds. Names muſt neceſſarily have ariſen from the number of different languages, more or leſs copious, according to the greater or leſſer degree of underſtanding in thoſe who made uſe of them. Nay, the language of the Mexicans was more regular than that of the Iroquois, as ours is more copious and abſolute than that of the Samoidians.

Of all the people of America, one nation only had a religion, which ſeems, at firſt ſight, not to be repugnant to reaſon; theſe are the Peruvians, who, like the ancient Perſians and Sabeans, adored the ſun as a planet that diſpenſed its benefits to all the creation: but, excepting the large and well peopled nations in America, all the others were plunged in a ſtate of the moſt barbarous ſtupidity. Their religious aſſemblies had no mark of a regular worſhip, and their belief was without form. It is certain, that the Braſilians, the inhabitants of the Caribbee and Molucca iſlands, and the people of Guiana, and the northern countries, had no clearer notion of a Supreme Being than the Caffres of Africa. A knowledge of this kind requires a reaſon that has been cultivated, which their reaſons were not. Nature alone may inſpire with a confuſed idea of ſomething ſupremely powerful and terrible, the ſavage, who ſees a thunderbolt fall, or beholds a mighty river break its bounds: but this is only a faint beginning of the knowledge of a God, creator of the univerſe; a knowledge which was abſolutely wanting to all the inhabitants of the vaſt continent of America.

The other Americans, who had formed to themſelves a religion, had made an abominable one. The Mexicans were not the only people who ſacrificed human victims to a crtain evil deity of their own invention. It has been ſaid, that the Peruvians were wont to diſgrace their worſhip of the ſun by the like bloody offerings. And there ſeems to be ſome kind of conformity between

between the ancient people of our hemiſphere, and the more civilized of the other, in regard to this barbarous religion.

We are aſſured by Herrera, that the Mexicans feaſted on the fleſh of the human victims that they offered in ſacrifice. The greateſt part of the firſt travellers and miſſionaries, all agree, that the people of the Braſils and the Caribbee Iſland, as alſo the Iroquois and Hurons, and other of thoſe nations, eat the priſoners whom they took in their wars; and that they did not look upon this as a cuſtom peculiar to themſelves, but as the general practice of all nations. So many authors, both ancient and modern, have made mention of cannibals, or man-eaters, that it is difficult to deny that there are ſuch. In the year 1725, I myſelf ſaw four ſavages at Fontainbleau, who had been brought from the Miſſiſſippi; among them was was a woman of an aſh-coloured complexion, like that of her companions. I aſked her, by the interpreter who was with them, whether ſhe had at any time eaten human fleſh? To which ſhe anſwered, yes, in the ſame indifferent manner as if it had been a common queſtion. This barbarity, which ſo much ſhocks our nature, is, however, far leſs cruel than murder; real barbarity conſiſts in taking away the life of any one, and not in diſputing the dead carcaſe with the crows or the worms. A people, who lived altogether by hunting, as did the Braſilians and Canadians, and the inhabitants of the Caribbee Iſlands, might ſometimes, on failure of their uſual food, be driven to this ſhocking recourſe, to ſupply the calls of nature. Hunger and vengeance might have accuſtomed them to this food; and when we ſee, in the moſt civilized ages, the people of Paris devouring the mangled remains of the marechal d'Ancre, and thoſe of the Hague eating the heart of the grand penſionary de Witt, we need not wonder that a deed of horror, that was only temporary with us, has become a laſting cuſtom among ſavages.

The moſt ancient writings extant confirm to us, that men may have been driven to this exceſs by hunger. Moſes himſelf threatens the Hebrews, in five verſes of Deuteronomy, that they ſhould eat their own children,

if

if they tranſgreſſed the law: and the prophet Ezekiel promiſes the ſame people, in the name of God, that if they fight valiantly againſt the king of Perſia, the Lord will give them to eat of the fleſh of the horſe and of the horſemen. Marco Paolo, or Mark Paul, ſays, that in his time, in one part of Tartary, the magicians or prieſts (which were the ſame) had the privilege of eating the fleſh of criminals condemned to death. This ſtrikes one with horror; but the picture of human kind will be found too frequently to produce this effect.

How has it happened, that people, who were always ſeparated from each other by their countries, have yet been united in this horrible cuſtom? Can we ſuppoſe it to be not altogether repugnant to human nature? It is certain, that this practice is very rare; but it is as certain, that it does really exiſt.

There is another vice altogether different from this, and ſeemingly more contrary to the end of nature, in which, nevertheleſs, the Greeks prided themſelves, which the Romans allowed, and which has continued to prevail amongſt the moſt civilized nations, and is much more common in the warm and temperate climates of Europe and Aſia, than in the frozen regions of the North. There have been inſtances in America of the ſame effect of the caprices of human nature. The natives of Braſil practiſed this unnatural cuſtom in common: it was unknown to the Canadians. But how happens it, that a paſſion, which overturns all the laws of propagation of the human ſpecies, ſhould, in both parts of the world, have taken poſſeſſion of the very organs of propagation themſelves?

Another obſervation, no leſs important, is, that the middlemoſt parts of Africa have been found to be tolerably well peopled, and the two extremities towards the poles very thinly inhabited; in general, the new world does not appear to contain the number of people it ſhould do. There muſt certainly be ſome natural cauſes for this.

In the firſt place, then, the cold is as exceſſive and piercing in America, in the ſame degree of latitude with Paris and Vienna, as in our continent at the polar circle.

In the ſecond place, the rivers in America are, for the moſt part, ten times as large as ours; and as theſe frequently overflow, they muſt have occaſioned a great dearth, and of conſequence mortality, in thoſe immenſe tracts. The mountains, by being much higher, are not ſo habitable as ours. The violent and laſting poiſons, with which the whole ſoil of America is covered, renders the ſlighteſt wound of an arrow, dipped in their juice, inſtantaneouſly mortal: and, laſtly, the ſtupidity of the human ſpecies, in a part of this hemiſphere, may have greatly contributed to depopulate the country. It is a general remark, that the human underſtanding is not near ſo perfect in the new as in the old world. Man is in both a very feeble animal, and, when in a ſtate of infancy, very liable to periſh for want of due care; and it cannot be ſuppoſed, that when the inhabitants on the banks of the Rhone, the Elbe, and the Viſtula, were wont to plunge their new-born infants into thoſe rivers, that the German and Sarmatian mothers reared as many children as they do now; eſpecially when thoſe countries were covered with vaſt woods, which made the climate more inclement and unwholeſome than it has been of late times. Numberleſs colonies of Americans were in want of proper food. They could not furniſh their infants with good milk; nor could they provide for them afterwards, either wholſome food, or a ſufficiency of it. We find ſeveral of the carnivorous kind of animals greatly reduced in number, for want of ſubſiſtence: and it is a matter of ſurprize, that we meet with more men in America than monkeys.

Of FERNANDO CORTEZ.

Vol. IV. chap. cxxiv. IT is ſaid, that as a Spaniſh captain was marching through the lands of a cacique, the latter preſented him with a number of ſlaves and ſome game, ſaying, If thou art a god, there are men, eat them; if thou art a mortal, here is the fleſh of animals, which theſe ſlaves will dreſs for thee.

Of the CONQUEST of PERU.

Vol. IV. chap. cxxv. THE firſt of the incas, or emperors of Peru, who conquered that country, and gave the inhabitants laws, paſſed for a ſon of the ſun. Thus we find the moſt civilized nations, both of the old and new world, reſembled each other in the cuſtom of deifying great and extraordinary men, whether conquerors or legiſlators.

Garcilaſſo de la Vega, a deſcendent from the incas, who was brought to Madrid, wrote the hiſtory of thoſe kings, in the year 1608. He was then far advanced in years; and his father might eaſily have been a witneſs to the revolution which happened in that country in the year 1530. He could not, indeed, know, with any certainty, the minuter parts of the hiſtory of his anceſtors. The people of America were all of them ſtrangers to the art of writing; reſembling, in this reſpect, the ancient Tartarian nations, the inhabitants of the ſouthern parts of Africa, our anceſtors the Celtes, and moſt of the people of the North; none of all theſe nations had any thing that could ſupply the place of hiſtory. The Peruvians tranſmitted their principal events to poſterity by means of knots tied on cords; but we find, that in general fundamental laws, the moſt eſſential points of religion, and heroic exploits, are tranſmitted with tolerable fidelity, from perſon to perſon, by word of mouth; in which manner Garcilaſſo might have acquired his knowledge of ſome capital events, and in ſuch only, he is worthy of our credit. He ſays, that throughout

throughout all the Peruvian empire they worſhipped the ſun; a worſhip which appeared more reaſonable than any other, in a country that did not enjoy the light of revelation. Pliny admitted no other god, even in the moſt enlightened ages of Rome. Plato, who was ſtill more enlightened than him, called the ſun the ſon of God, the ſplendor of the Father; and we find this planet adored many ages before by the magi, and the ancient Egyptians: the ſame appearance of truth, and the ſame error, prevailed equally in both hemiſpheres.

The Peruvians had obeliſks and regular gnomonic inſtruments, to ſhew the points of the equinoxes and ſolſtices. Their year conſiſted of 365 days; perhaps the ſcience of ancient Egypt did not extend further. They raiſed prodigies in architecture, and cut ſtatues with ſurpriſing art. In a word, they were the beſt poliſhed, and the moſt induſtrious people of any in the new world.

The inca Hueſcar, father of Atabalipa, the laſt of the incas, in whoſe reign this vaſt empire was deſtroyed, had greatly augmented and embelliſhed it.

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In the pacific and religious ceremonies inſtituted to the honour of the ſun, they formed certain dances: nothing is more natural; it was one of the ancient cuſtoms in our part of the world. Hueſcar, in order to render theſe dances more grave and ſolemn, made the performers carry a chain of gold ſeven hundred of our geometrical paces in length *, and as thick as a man's wriſt, each dancer took hold of a link. Hence we may conclude, that gold muſt have been more plenty in Peru than copper is with us.

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Id. page 217.] Here let us obſerve, that if the Mexicans are chargeable with having ſometimes ſacrificed their conquered enemies to the god of war, the Peruvians were never known to offer ſuch ſacrifices to the ſun, whom they looked upon as a good and benignant deity.

* Or nearly three quarters of a mile, which is equal to a meaſure of 1400 yards.

deity. And indeed the Peruvian nation itſelf was, perhaps, the moſt gentle in its manners of any in the whole world.

Of the firſt VOYAGE round the World.

Vol. IV. chap. cxxvi. pag. 16. THE Mariana Iſlands, lying near the line, demand our particular attention. The inhabitants of thoſe iſlands know not what fire is, and indeed that element would be altogether uſeleſs to them, as they live wholly upon fruits, which their land produces in great abundance; eſpecially cacao, ſago, which is much ſuperior to rice, and a kind of paſte or dough, that has the taſte of the beſt bread, and is formed in a pod or ſhell on the top of a large tree. It is ſaid that theſe people commonly live to the age of an hundred and twenty; the ſame has been ſaid of the natives of Braſil. When they were firſt diſcovered, they were neither wild nor cruel; nor did they want for any of the conveniences which were neceſſary for their ſubſiſtance. Their houſes were built of the planks of cocao trees, formed for the purpoſe, with great induſtry, and were neat and regular. Their gardens were laid out with great art; and they were, perhaps, the moſt happy and the leaſt wreched of any people whatever. Nevertheleſs, the Portugueſe called their country the Iſland of Thieves, *Iſloas de los Ladrones*, becauſe thoſe people, not being perfectly verſed in the *meum* et *tuum*, happened to eat ſome of their ſhip-proviſions. There was no more religion amongſt them, than anongſt the Hottentots, or many other of the African and American nations. But beyond theſe iſlands, towards the Moluccas, there are other nations where the Mahometan religion was introduced in the time of the caliphs. The Mahometans had ſailed thither through the Indian ſea, and the Chriſtians came through the South Sea. Had the Arabians known the uſe of the compaſs, they were the only people to have diſcovered America, as lying in the very tract; but their navigation never extended further than the

the Iſle of Mindanao to the weſt of the Manillas. This vaſt cluſter of iſlands was inhabited by different ſpecies of men, ſome white, ſome black, ſome olive, and ſome red, or copper-coloured: Nature has been always found to vary more in hot climates than in thoſe to the northward.

OF BRASIL.

AT the time that the Spaniards invaded the richeſt part of the new world, the Portugueſe, glutted with the treaſures of the new, neglected the Braſils, which they had diſcovered in the year 1500, without looking after them.

The Portugueſe admiral Cabral, after having paſſed the Cape de Verd Iſlands, in his way to the coaſt of Malabar, through the ſouthern ſea of Africa, ſteered ſo far to the weſtward, that he fell in with the land of Braſil, which is that part of the continent of America, which lies neareſt to Africa; there being but 30 degrees of longitude between this coaſt and Mount Atlas; it conſequently was the firſt diſcovered. The country was found to be extremely fertile, and blooming with a continual ſpring. The natives were all of them ſtout, well made, robuſt, and vigorous; their complexion was of a reddiſh caſt; they went quite naked, excepting only a large belt round their middles, which ſerved them as a kind of pouch.

They were a people who lived by hunting; and as they were not always aſſured of a certain ſubſiſtence, were conſequently wild and fierce, making war upon each other, with their arrows and clubs, for the ſpoils of the chace, in the ſame manner as the civilized barbarians of the old continent did, for the poſſeſſion of a few villages. Anger and reſentment for injuries, actual or ſuppoſed, frequently armed them againſt each other, as we read of the ancient Greeks and people of Aſia. They did not ſacrifice human victims, for they had no religious worſhip among them, and conſequently could have no ſacrifices to make, as the Mexicans had: but they feaſted on the perſons they took in battle; and

Americus

Americus Veſpuſius relates, in one of his letters, that theſe people were ſtruck with aſtoniſhment to hear, that the Europeans did not eat either priſoners.

As to laws, the Braſilians had none, but ſuch as were made upon inſtant need, by the people aſſembled together. They were governed wholly by inſtinct. By this inſtinct they went to the chace, when preſſed by hunger, took to themſelves wives, when neceſſity required, and ſatisfied the calls of a momentary paſſion indiſcriminately.

Theſe people are alone a convincing proof, that America was never known to the old world, or certainly ſome kind of religion would have found its way among them, from the continent of Africa, to which they are ſo near; and there muſt have remained ſome ſmall traces of this religion, whatever it had been: whereas there is no ſuch to be found. They had indeed certain jugglers among them, who went about with their heads adorned with feathers, ſtirred the people up to battle, pointed out to them the new moon, and pretended to cure them of their maladies with certain herbs; but no one ever heard of either prieſts, altars, or any kind of religious worſhip among them.

The people of Mexico and Peru, who were more civilized, had a regular worſhip. Religion with them was the ſupport of the ſtate, becauſe it was entirely ſubject to, and dependent on the ſovereign; but there could be no ſtate or goverment among ſavages, who had neither wants nor police.

The Portugueſe government ſuffered the colonies, which their merchants had ſent to the Braſils, to languiſh near fifty years unſupported, and almoſt unnoticed. At length, in the year 1559, it made ſome ſolid regulations relating thereto, and the kings of Portugal received tribute from both worlds at the ſame time. When Philip II. king of Spain, ſubjected Portugal in the year 1581, he found a conſiderable increaſe of wealth in the Braſils. The Dutch afterwards took them almoſt entirely from the Spaniards from the year 1625 to 1630.

The Dutch likewiſe ſtripped Spain of all the ſettlements belonging to the Portugueſe, in the Old World and

and the New. At length, when these latter threw off the Spanish yoke, they recovered possession of the coast of Brasil. This country has furnished its new masters with the same productions as Mexico, Peru, and the islands did to the Spaniards; namely, gold, silver, and the most precious commodities. And, even in our time, there have been some diamond mines discovered in the Brasils, that were no way inferior in riches to those of Golconda. But what has been the consequence; Portugal has been beggared by its excessive riches. The colonies of Asia and Brasil have drained it of a prodgious number of inhabitants: while those who were left behind, having their heads full of gold and diamond mines, neglected to cultivate the real mines of inexhaustible wealth to a state, agriculture and the manufactories. Their gold and diamonds were found hardly sufficient to pay for the necessary commodities, with which they were furnished by the English, for whom only the Portuguese may be said to have laboured in America. In the year 1756, when Lisbon was destroyed by an earthquake, they were obliged to have a quantity of coined silver sent from England, so great a scarcity was there of every thing in Portugal. In a word, in that Kingdom, the sovereign alone is rich, his people are all beggars.

Of the POSSESSIONS of the FRENCH in AMERICA.

SPAIN drew immense treasures from Mexico and Peru, (which however have not greatly enriched them in the end) at a time when other nations had not a single colony in the other parts of America that was of any advantage to them: this naturally excited their jealousy, and determined them to follow the example of the Spaniards.

Admiral Coligny, who had great ideas in every thing, formed a scheme in the year 1557, during the reign of Henry II. to establish a colony of French of his own sect in the Brasils. The chevalier de Villegagnon, at that

that time a calviniſt, was ſent over thither. Calvin himſelf embarked in the undertaking. The Genoeſe were not at that time ſuch good traders as at preſent, and Calvin ſent over a greater number of preachers than labourers. The former wanting to have the upper-hand, there enſued a violent quarrel between the commandant and them, which terminated in a ſedition. The colony, thus divided, was attacked and ruined by the Portugueſe. Villegagnon renounced Calvin and his miniſters, as a ſet of religious incendiaries; they ſtigmatized him for an atheiſt, and France loſt the Braſils.

It was ſaid, that the family of the incas had taken refuge in that extenſive country, whoſe frontiers join to thoſe of Peru; that the greateſt part of the inhabitants of that country had fled thither, from the avarice and cruelty of the European chriſtians, who occupied the middlemoſt part, and had ſettled near a certain lake named Perima, the ſand of which was gold; and that they had there built a city, the houſes of which were all tiled with that precious metal. The Spaniards were for a long time employed in ſearching after this city, which they called Eldorado, or the Golden City.

This name rouſed the attention of all the powers of Europe. In the year 1596, queen Elizabeth ſent out a fleet, under the command of the ingenious and unfortunate Sir Walter Raleigh, to diſpute theſe glorious ſpoils with the Spaniards. Raleigh actually diſcovered a country, inhabited by a people of a red complexion; and he pretends, in his writings, to have met with a nation, whoſe ſhoulders were as high as their heads. He makes no doubt but that the country furniſhed mines; and he brought back to England with him an hundred large plates of ſolid gold, and ſeveral pieces of the wrought metal: but, after all, there was no Dorado nor lake Perima to be found. The French, after ſeveral fruitleſs attempts, made a ſettlement in the year 1664, on the iſland of Cayenne, a point of that extenſive coaſt, not more than fifteen leagues in circumference, and to which they gave the name of Equinoctial France, though the whole colony did not conſiſt of above 150 houſes, partly wood and partly earth: and the iſland

iſland of Cayenne was never worth any thing to France, till the time of Lewis XIV. who was the firſt of the French kings that truly encouraged the maritime commerce. This iſland was taken from the French by the Dutch in the war of 1672. But a fleet, ſent over by Lewis XIV. took it again. Its preſent produce is a little indigo, and ſome very bad coffee. Guiana was reputed the fineſt country in all America, and where the French might have made ſettlements with the greateſt eaſe; and this was the very country the moſt neglected by them.

They had heard of Florida, a country lying between the old and new world, part of which the Spaniards were already in poſſeſſion of; and it was they who firſt gave the name of Florida to this part of the continent of North America. But, as the captain of a French cruizer pretended to have landed here nearly about the ſame time with the Spaniards, the right to it was to be diſputed; for, by our law of nations, or rather of robbers, the lands of the Americans ought to be the property not only of the firſt invaders, but alſo of any one who pretended to have firſt diſcovered them.

Admiral Coligny, in the reign of Charles IX. and about the year 1564, had ſent thither a colony of Huguenots, being deſirous of eſtabliſhing his religion in America, as well as the Spaniards had eſtabliſhed theirs. The Spaniards deſtroyed this country, and hung up all the French they found in the place upon the trees, with a label to each, importing, that *they had been hanged not as Frenchmen, but as heretics.*

Some time afterwards one chevalier de Gourgues, a Gaſcon, having put himſelf at the head of a number of pirates to endeavour to recover Florida, made himſelf maſter of a ſmall Spaniſh fort; and, in his turn, hung up all the priſoners, taking care to affix a writing to each, ſignifying *that they had been hanged not as Spaniards, but as robbers and infidels.* And now the unhappy natives of America began to ſee their European deſpoilers revenge their cauſe, by mutually deſtroying each other: a conſolation which they have frequently enjoyed.

After having hanged the Spaniards, in order to ſecure themſelves from the ſame treatment, the French were obliged to evacuate Florida, and made a formal renunciation of their pretended right to that country; which was, in many reſpects, preferable even to Guiana. But the bloody diſputes concerning religion, which at that time ſpread deſtruction through all the kingdom of France, left the people no leiſure to go and butcher and convert theſe ſavages, or conteſt the poſſeſſion of this fine country with the Spaniards.

The Engliſh had for ſome time been in poſſeſſion of the beſt lands, and the moſt advantageous in point of ſituation, that could be wiſhed for in North America, on the other ſide of Florida, when a few merchants of Normandy, on the ſimple proſpect of eſtabliſhing a ſmall trade for ſkins and furs, eſtabliſhed a colony in Canada, a country covered with ice or ſnow during eight months of the year, and inhabited only by ſavages, bears, and beavers. This country, which was diſcovered ſome time before the year 1535, had been afterwards abandoned; but at length, after ſeveral attempts badly ſupported by the government, for want of a ſufficient naval force, a ſmall company of merchants of Dieppe and St. Malo's founded Quebec, in the year 1608; that is to ſay, they built a few huts there, which did not take the form of a town till the reign of Lewis XIV.

This ſettlement and that of Louiſburg, as well as all the reſt in New France, have been always very poor, while there are no leſs than 15000 coaches driving through the ſtreets of the city of Mexico, and ſtill more in that of Lima. Nevertheleſs, the poverty of theſe countries has not exempted them from being the theatre of continual wars, either with the natives or the Engliſh; who, though already poſſeſſed of far the beſt territories, were ſtill anxious to diveſt the French of thoſe which belonged to them, in order to make themſelves ſole maſters of the trade of this wintery region of the world.

The natives of Canada are not of the ſame kind with thoſe of Mexico, Peru, or the Braſils. They reſemble them in the want of hair, of which they have none except

except on their eye-brows and head; but they differ from them in their colour, which approaches nearer to ours; and ſtill more in their diſpoſition, which is very fierce and courageous. They were always entire ſtrangers to monarchical goverment, the republican ſpirit having always prevailed among the northern nations, both of the old and new world. The inhabitants of North America, of the Apalachian mountains, and of Davis's ſtreights, are all of them peaſants and hunters, living together in little towns or villages, which is an inſtitution natural to the human ſpecies. We very ſeldom give them the name of Indians, having erroneouſly appropriated that name to the people of Mexico, Peru, and the Braſils; which country has been called the Indies, only becauſe as much treaſure comes from thence as from the real Indies; but content ourſelves with calling the North Americans ſavages, though they are leſs ſo in ſome reſpects than the country people on ſome of our European ſea coaſts, who have ſo long aſſumed the barbarous right of plundering all veſſels that are wrecked on their ſhores, and murdering the poor unhappy ſailors. War, the crime and ſcourge of all times and all countries, was not with them as it is with us, a mere motive of intereſt; it was in general the reſult of vengeance meditated for injuries received, as it was alſo with the Braſilians and all other ſavage nations.

The moſt horrible thing belonging to the Canadians was their cuſtom of putting their captives to death by the moſt cruel torments, and afterwards eating them. This barbarous practice they learned from the people of Braſil, though at the diſtance of fifty degrees from each other. Both nations feaſted on the fleſh of their enemies, as on the produce of the chace. This is a cuſtom that has not always prevailed; but it has been common to more than one nation, as we have ſhewn in the foregoing ſheets.

In the frozen and barren climes of Canada men were frequently cannibals; but they were not ſo in Acadia, which is a better country and produces greater plenty of food: nor in the reſt of the continent, excepting

only ſome parts of the Braſils and on the Caribbee iſlands.

The infant colony of Canada was formed by a few Jeſuits and Huguenots, who had met together there by a ſtrange fatality: they afterwards entered into an alliance with the Hurons, who were at war with the Iroquois. Theſe latter did great damage to the colony, and took ſeveral Jeſuits priſoners; and, as it is ſaid, eat them. The ſettlement at Quebec ſuffered conſiderably from the Engliſh, who attacked it almoſt as ſoon as it was built and fortified. They afterwards made themſelves maſters of all Acadia, which indeed was doing little more than deſtroying a few fiſhermen's huts.

The French then had no foreign ſettlement at that time, either in Aſia or America.

The company of merchants, who had ruined themſelves by theſe projects, in hopes to repair their loſſes, applied to cardinal Richelieu to be included in the treaty made with the Engliſh at St. Germains. The latter conſented to reſtore the little they had taken, and of which they made ſmall account; and this little became afterwards New France. This ſettlement continued a long time in a deplorable condition, ſave only that the cod-fiſhery brought in ſome little profits, which ſerved to ſupport the company. But as ſoon as the Engliſh were apprized of theſe ſmall profits, they ſeized upon Acadia again.

They reſtored it again by the treaty of Breda. After that they took it five ſeveral times, and at length made it their property by the treaty of Utrecht; a treaty which, though looked upon as an happy event at the time it was made, has ſince proved the moſt fatal to the peace of Europe: for we ſhall ſee, that the miniſters who drew it up, not having properly determined the limits of Acadia, which the Engliſh have endeavoured to enlarge, and the French to confine; this corner of the world has proved the ſubject of a furious war; which broke out between the rival nations in the year 1755, and drew along with it the war in Germany, with which it had no kind of connection. But ſo complicated

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are the political intereſts of the preſent times, that a ſhot fired in America ſhall be the ſignal for ſetting all Europe together by the ears.

The French, in 1713, remained in poſſeſſion of the little iſland of Cape Breton, on which is Louiſbourgh, the river of St. Laurence, Quebec, and Canada, Poſſeſſions which were rather uſeful, by being a nurſery for ſeamen, than profitable in any other reſpects. Quebec contained about 7000 inhabitants; but the war carried on by the government to preſerve this country, coſt more than the country itſelf will ever be worth, and yet it appeared abſolutely neceſſary.

In New France is comprehended an immenſe tract of country, which joins on one ſide to Canada, and on the other to New Mexico; and whoſe limits towards the north-eaſt are not known. This country is called the Miſſiſſippi, from a river of that name, which falls into the gulph of Mexico; and Louiſiana, from the name of Lewis XIV.

This tract of land lay very convenient for the Spaniards; but having already too large an extent of dominion in America, they neglected the poſſeſſion of it; and the more ſo, as it produced no gold. Some French belonging to Canada undertook to travel into this country, partly by ſailing round the Illinois river; in which trial they underwent the moſt ſhocking hardſhips and fatigues. It was as if you were to go to Egypt round the Cape of Good-Hope, inſtead of taking the route of Damietta. This extenſive part of New France, till the year 1708, was peopled only by about a dozen families, who led a wandering life in the midſt of deſerts and woods.

Lewis XIV. who at that time was ready to ſink under his misfortunes, and ſaw Old France on the point of falling to ruin, could not think of the New. The ſtate was exhauſted of men and money; and here it may not be improper to obſerve, that, during theſe times of public calamity, two men acquired fortunes of near forty millions * each; one by a great private trade he car-

* Of livres, equal to 1,600,000l. ſterling.

ried on in the East Indies, while that company, which had been eſtabliſhed by Colbert, was entirely ruined; and the other, by lending money to an unſucceſsful, neceſſitous, and ignorant miniſtry. This great merchant, whoſe name was Crozat, was rich, and venturous enough to riſque a part of his fortune to purchaſe a grant of Louiſiana from the king, on condition that every ſhip, that he or his partners ſhould ſend thither, ſhould carry over ſix young perſons of each ſex, in order to people the country, where trade and population were equally at a ſtand.

After the death of Lewis XIV. Law, a Scotchman, a very extraordinary perſon, many of whoſe ſchemes had proved uſeleſs, and others hurtful to the nation, made the government and the people believe, that Louiſiana produced as much gold as Peru, and that it would ſoon be able to ſupply as great a quantity of ſilk as China. This was the firſt epocha of Law's famous ſcheme, called the Miſſiſſippi ſcheme. Several colonies were ſent to that country, and a plan was drawn of a magnificent and regular city, to be built there, by the name of New Orleans. The ſettlers almoſt all of them periſhed for want; and the city was confined to a few paltry houſes. Perhaps one day, when France ſhall have a million or two of inhabitants more than ſhe may know what to do with, it may be of ſome advantage to her to people Louiſiana.

Of the FRENCH ISLANDS, and of the BUCCANEERS, or FREEBOOTERS.

THE poſſeſſions of the moſt conſequence that the French have acquired at different times, are, one half of the iſland of St. Domingo, the iſlands of Martinico, Guadaloupe, and ſome of the leſſer Antilles; which is not the two hundredth part of what the Spaniards have got by their conqueſts; but theſe have, however, turned out to great advantage.

St. Domingo is that very iſland Hiſpaniola, (by the natives called *Aiti*) which was diſcovered by Columbus, and

and depopulated by the Spaniards; the French have not been able to find, on that part of the iſland which they inhabit, the gold and ſilver which was formerly found there; this may happen either from metals requiring a long ſucceſſion of ages to be formed, or, which ſeems the moſt probable, that there is only a certain quantity contained in the bowels of the earth, and that a mine, when once exhauſted, is never recruited; and indeed, when we conſider, that gold and ſilver are not mixed metals, it is difficult to ſay, how they can be reproduced. There are ſtill mines of theſe metals in that part of the country, which is under the dominion of the Spaniards; but, as the expence exceeds the profits, they have left off working them.

It was to the deſperate boldneſs of a new people, formed by hazard out of Engliſh, Bretons, and Normans, that the French are indebted for ſharing any part of this iſland with the Spaniards. Theſe people, who were called Buccaneers or Freebooters, had nearly the ſame origin and aſſociation as the ancient Romans; but their courage was more impetuous and terrible. Figure to yourſelf a company of tygers endowed with ſome portion of human reaſon, and you will then have a true idea of theſe Buccaneers. Their hiſtory is as follows:

It happened about the year 1625, that ſome adventurers from France and England landed at the ſame time on one of the Caribbee iſlands, called St. Chriſtopher by the Spaniards, who always gave the name of ſome ſaint to every place they invaded, and butchered the natives in the name of the ſaint. Theſe new-comers found themſelves obliged, notwithſtanding the natural antipathy of the two nations, to unite together againſt the Spaniards, who, being maſters of all the neighbouring iſlands as well as of the continent, ſoon came upon them with a force greatly ſuperior to theirs. The French chief made his eſcape, and returned back to France. The Engliſh commander capitulated: The moſt reſolute of both French and Engliſh got over to the iſland of St. Domingo, by the help of ſome barks,

and fixed their reſidence in an inacceſſible part of that iſland, ſurrounded by rocks. There they built ſome ſmall canoes reſembling thoſe of the American Indians, and made themſelves maſters of the iſland of Tortuga; whither ſeveral Normans went over to join them, as they did in the twelfth century, to make the conqueſt of Apulia, and that of England in the tenth. Theſe people met with all the viciſſitudes of good and bad fortune that muſt naturally attend a ſet of lawleſs adventurers, aſſembled together from Normandy and England, on the gulf of Mexico.

In the year 1655, Cromwel fitted out a fleet which took the iſland of Jamaica from the Spaniards. This expedition would not have ſucceeded but for the aſſiſtance of theſe Buccaneers. They cruiſed upon all nations indiſcriminately, and being more taken up with the ſearch after plunder, than the care of defending themſelves, they ſuffered the Spaniards to make themſelves maſters of the iſland of Tortuga during one of their cruizes. However, they ſoon recovered it again; and the French miniſtry were obliged to appoint the perſon whom they choſe governor of the iſland. They infeſted all the gulph of Mexico, and had lurking places in ſeveral of the little iſlands thereabouts. They aſſumed the name of *Brothers of the coaſt*. Stowed in an heap in a pitiful canoe, that a ſingle ſhot from a great gun, or the leaſt gale of wind would have blown to atoms, they boldly boarded Spaniſh ſhips of the largeſt burthen, and frequently made them their own. They knew no other laws but that of equally diſtributing the ſhare of the ſpoils; no other religion, but that of nature; and even from that, they frequently deviated in an abominable manner.

They had it not in their power to ſteal wives for themſelves, as hiſtory tells us the companions of Romulus did; but they procured an hundred young women to be ſent them from France: this number, however, was far from being ſufficient to keep up a ſociety, which was now become ſo numerous. Two Buccaneers therefore caſt dice for one woman; he that won married her;

her; and the loſer had no right to lie with her, unleſs the other was abſent, or employed elſewhere.

Theſe people ſeemed upon the whole formed rather to deſtroy than to found a ſtate. They performed unheard of exploits, and were guilty of incredible cruelties. One man (named l'Olonois, from the iſland of Olonne his birthplace) ventures into the port of the Havanah with a ſingle canoe, and cuts out from thence an armed frigate. Upon examining one of the priſoners on board, the man confeſſes that this frigate was fitted out purpoſely to ſail in ſearch of him, and, if poſſible, to take and hang him; adding further, that he himſelf was to have been his executioner. On hearing this, l'Olonois, without further delay, orders the fellow to be hanged up, cuts off the hands of all the other priſoners with his own hand, and drinks their blood.

This l'Olonois and one of his companions named le Baſque, marched at the head of five hundred Buccaneers, as far as Venezola in the bay of Honduras, where they deſtroyed two conſiderable towns with fire and ſword, and returned loaded with booty. This ſucceſs enabled them to equip the veſſels which had been taken by their canoes, with cannon and all other neceſſaries, ſo that they beheld themſelves on a ſudden become a maritime power, and on the point of being great conquerors.

Morgan, a native of England, who has left a famous name behind him, puts himſelf at the head of a thouſand Buccaneers, partly of his own nation, and partly Normans, Britons, and natives of Saintonge, and Baſque, with whom he undertakes to get poſſeſſion of Porto-Bello, the magazine of the riches of Spain, a city of great ſtrength, and defended by a number of cannon, and a conſiderable garriſon. Morgan arrives before it without any artillery, ſcales the walls of the citadel in ſpite of the enemy's fire; and, notwithſtanding the moſt obſtinate reſiſtance, made himſelf maſter of it. By this ſucceſsful temerity, he obliges the city to purchaſe its ranſom of him for a million of piaſters *. Some time

* About 200,000l. ſterling, a piaſter being about 4s. 6d. Engliſh.

afterwards, he has the boldneſs to land on the Iſthmus of Panama, in the midſt of the Spaniſh troops; forces his way to the ancient city of Panama, carries off all the treaſures lodged there, and burns the city to the ground, and returns to Jamaica victorious and enriched. This man, who was only the ſon of a poor peaſant in England, might have erected a kingdom to himſelf in America; but after all his exploits, he ended his days in priſon at London.

The French Buccaneers, whoſe place of retreat was ſometimes among the rocks of St. Domingo, and at others in the iſland of Tortuga, fit out ſix armed boats, and with about 1200 men, go and attack Vera-Cruz; an undertaking as great as if 1200 men from Biſcay ſhould come and lay ſiege to Bourdeaux with ten boats. However, they take the place by ſtorm, and bring away five millions in ſpecie, and about 1500 ſlaves. At length, made bold by a multitude of ſucceſſes of this kind, they determine, both French and Engliſh, to enter the South-Sea, and make themſelves maſters of Peru. No Frenchman had at that time ever ſeen the South-Sea, and there was no way to get to it but by croſſing the mountains of the Iſthmus of Panama, or by ſailing all along the coaſt of South-America, and paſſing the Streights of Magellan, to which they were all of them ſtrangers. However, they divide themſelves into two parties, and ſet out at the ſame time in the two different routes.

Thoſe who croſs the Iſthmus, plunder and deſtroy all that comes in their way; and at length arrive on the borders of the South Sea, make themſelves maſters of ſome barks they find in the harbours, and wait the arrival of their companions, who were to paſs the Streights of Magellan. Theſe latter, who were almoſt all of them French, after having undergone adventures as romantic as their enterprize, were not able to get to Peru through the Streights, being blown back by tempeſts, which drove them upon the coaſt of Africa, where they landed, and plundered all the inhabitants along ſhore.

In

In the mean time, thoſe who had got to the South-Sea acroſs the Iſthmus, having only open boats to ſail in, are purſued by the Spaniſh flota from Peru. How are they now to eſcape? One of their companions, who commands a kind of canoe with about fifty men aboard, makes the beſt of his way into the Vermillion ſea, and gets on ſhore at California, where he remains four years; he afterwards returns back through the South-Sea; in his paſſage takes a ſhip with 500,000 piaſters on board, paſſes the Streights of Magellan, and arrives ſafe at Jamaica with his booty.

The others return back to the Iſthmus loaded with gold and precious ſtones. The Spaniſh troops aſſemble on all ſides, and purſue them. This obliges them to croſs the Iſthmus in its wideſt part, and to march round about for the ſpace of 300 leagues; whereas there are not above 80, in a right line, from the place where they were to that whither they were going. In their journey they are frequently ſtopt by cataracts, which they are obliged to deſcend in machines made like a tub. They have hunger and thirſt to ſtruggle with, and the elements and their enemies the Spaniards. At length, however, they arrive at the North Sea, with what part of their treaſure they have been able to ſave. Their number was, by this time, decreaſed to 500. The retreat of the 10,000 Greeks will be always more famous in hiſtory, but certainly is not to be compared with this.

If theſe adventurers could have been all united under one chief, they might have formed a very conſiderable ſtate in America; but their enterprizes were chiefly confined to doing the Spaniards almoſt as much hurt as theſe had formerly done to the American natives. Part of them returned home to their own countries, to enjoy their riches in peace; others died of the exceſſes occaſioned by thoſe riches, and a great many were ſoon reduced to their original indigence. The goverments of France and England ceaſed to countenance or protect them, when they had no longer any occaſion for their aſſiſtance; and at preſent nothing remains of theſe heroic robbers,

robbers, only the remembrance of their valour and cruelty.

It is to them that France is indebted for one half of the iſland of St. Domingo; and it was by their arms that ſhe was maintained in poſſeſſion of it during the time of their cruiſes.

In the year 1757 they reckoned 30,000 perſons in that part of St. Domingo belonging to the French, beſides 100,000 ſlaves, blacks and mulattoes, who work in the ſeveral plantations of ſugar, cocao, and indigo; and who ſacrifice their lives and healths to pleaſe thoſe new-acquired wants and appetites which were unknown to our forefathers. We ſend for theſe negroes to the coaſt of Guinea, and to the gold and ivory coaſts. I do not know what the preſent price may be; but about thirty years ago a good negro could be bought for fifty livres, which is about five times leſs than what we pay for a fat ox. We tell them with one breath that they are men like us, and that they are redeemed by the blood of a God, who was crucified for them; and the next we ſet them to work like beaſts of burthen, and feed them worſe. If they attempt to make their eſcape, we cut off one of their legs, and after having ſupplied its place with a wooden one, we make them turn a ſugar-mill by hand; and yet ſhall we pretend, after all this, to talk of the law of nations!

The little iſlands of Martinico and Guadaloupe yield the ſame commodities as St. Domingo. Theſe iſlands, and the events that have happened in them, are mere points in the hiſtory of the univerſe: but, after all, theſe countries, though hardly perceptible in a map of the world, produced in France an annual circulation of near 60 millions in merchandize. This trade does not enrich a country; far from it, for it is the cauſe of many ſhipwrecks, and the loſs of a number of lives. Therefore it certainly cannot be looked upon as a real good; but as mankind have made new wants for themſelves, it prevents the kingdom from purchaſing, at a dear rate from foreigners, a ſuperfluity that is, by this means, become a neceſſary.

Of

Of the POSSESSIONS of the ENGLISH and DUTCH in AMERICA.

THE Engliſh, who, as being iſlanders, are neceſſarily become more practiſed in ſea affairs than the French, have acquired more advantageous ſettlements in North America than the latter. They are in poſſeſſion of about ſix hundred leagues of coaſt from Carolina to Hudſon's Bay, by which they have long but vainly endeavoured to find a paſſage into the South Seas and ſo to Japan. The Engliſh ſettlements in America were not near ſo valuable as thoſe of the Spaniards; the former having produced, at leaſt hitherto, neither gold, ſilver, indigo, cochineal, precious ſtones, nor woods for dying; and yet they have proved very advantageous to the poſſeſſors. The Engliſh territories on the Terra Firma begin about ten degrees from our tropic, in a moſt delicious country called Carolina. Here the French have never been able to effect any ſettlement; and the Engliſh did not take poſſeſſion of it till they had ſecured the coaſt to the northwards.

You have ſeen the Spaniards and Portugueſe maſters of almoſt all the New World, from the Streights of Magellan to Florida: next to Florida is Carolina, to which the Engliſh have of late years added another part to the ſouthward, called Georgia, from the name of their king, George I. They have been in poſſeſſion of Carolina ever ſince the year 1664. That which beſtows the greateſt luſtre on this province is, its having received its laws from the admirable Locke: a perfect liberty of conſcience, and an univerſal toleration in point of religion, form the baſis of theſe laws. Here the epiſcopals live in brotherly union with the puritans; they even admit of the Catholics, their natural enemies, to exerciſe their religion undiſturbed, as alſo the Indians, who are called idolaters; but the laws require that there ſhall be ſeven heads of families to eſtabliſh any particular ſect or religion within that government. Locke wiſely conſidered that ſeven families, with their

ſlaves,

ſlaves, might amount to 5 or 600 ſouls, and that it would be an act of injuſtice to deprive ſuch a number of perſons from ſerving God in their own way; and that under ſuch a reſtraint they might be tempted to quit the colony.

Marriages in one half this country are performed only in the preſence of a magiſtrate; but thoſe who have an inclination to add the benediction of the prieſt to this civil contract, may have that ſatisfaction.

Theſe laws were received with admiration, after the torrents of blood that had been ſhed throughout all Europe, by the ſpirit of enthuſiaſm and perſecution. But they were laws that would never have entered into the imagination of either the Greeks or Romans, as they could never have conceived, that there would be a time in which men would force each other to embrace a particular faith, ſword in hand. By this humane code it is ordered, that the negroes ſhall be treated with the ſame humanity as domeſtic ſervants. In the year 1657, there were in the province of Carolina 40,000 blacks, and 20,000 whites.

Beyond Carolina is Virginia, a colony ſo named in honour of the virgin queen Elizabeth, and firſt peopled by the famous Raleigh, who afterwards met with ſo cruel a return for all his public-ſpirited labour, from James I. It coſt immenſe pains to ſettle this colony; for the ſavage natives, who were a more warlike people than the Mexicans, and who ſaw themſelves as unjuſtly attacked, almoſt totally deſtroyed it at its firſt eſtabliſhment.

It has been ſaid, that ſince the revocation of the edict of Nantes, which impolitic ſtep added thouſands of ſubjects to both worlds, at the expence of France, the number of inhabitants in Virginia have amounted to 140,000, without reckoning the negroes. In this province and in Maryland they apply themſelves chiefly to the culture of tobacco, which forms an immenſe branch of trade, and is another of our new artificial wants, which did not take place till very lately, and which is now grown powerful by example; as you may perceive, when I tell you that it was looked upon as the

greateſt

greateſt impoliteneſs at the court of Lewis XIV. for any one to thruſt this dirty ſtimulating duſt up his noſe. The firſt farm of tobacco in France did not bring in to the proprietors above 300,000 livres *per annum*, at preſent it is worth 16 millions. The French lay out very near four millions a year, in this weed, with the Engliſh colonies, when they themſelves might plant it in Louiſiana: and here I cannot forbear remarking, that France and England at preſent conſume, in commodities unknown to their forefathers, more than the whole revenues of both crowns were formerly worth.

To the northward of Virginia is the province of Maryland, containing 40,000 white people, and about 60,000 blacks. Beyond this lies Penſilvania, a country differing from all the reſt of the world by the ſingular manners of its inhabitants. This country received its name and laws, in the year 1680, from one William Penn, the head of a new ſect, which have very improperly been called *Quakers*. This was not an uſurped power, as were moſt of thoſe invaſions which we have ſeen both in the old and new world. Penn purchaſed theſe lands of the real natives, and became a lawful proprietor in the moſt rigid ſenſe of the word. The chriſtian doctrine, which he carried along with him there, differs as much from that acknowledged in every other part of Europe, as his colony does from every other colony. He and his companions profeſſed the ſame ſimplicity and equality which prevailed among the primitive diſciples of Chriſt. They knew no other religious tenets but thoſe which proceeded extempore from the lips, and which were all confined to the love of God and their fellow creatures. They did not admit baptiſm, becauſe Chriſt baptiſed no one. They had no prieſt, becauſe Chriſt himſelf was the only teacher and paſtor of his firſt diſciples. Here I perform only the duty of a faithful hiſtorian, and ſhall further add, that if Penn and his followers erred in their theology (that inexhauſtible ſource of misfortunes and diſputes,) they at leaſt excelled all other people in the ſtrictneſs of their morals. Though ſituated in the midſt of twelve ſmall nations, whom we term ſavages, they have never had the

the leaſt diſpute with any of them; on the contrary, theſe have always looked upon them in the light of fathers and arbitrators. Penn and his primitive followers, who are called quakers, but to whom we ought to give no other title than that of *the Upright*, made it a maxim never to go to war with any one, nor to law with each other. They had no judges amongſt them, but only arbitrators, who accommodated all differences in law in an amicable manner, and without expence. They had no phyſicians, for they were a ſober people, and conſequently did not ſtand in need of them.

The province of Penſylvania was for a long time without ſoldiers, till the government of late years, while at war with France, ſent ſome regiments over from England for the defence of this country. Take away the name of *quakers*, and that barbarous and diſagreeable habit of throwing their bodies into a variety of ridiculous convulſions in their religious aſſemblies, and it muſt be confeſſed, that there is not a more venerable ſociety of men in the world. Their colony is as flouriſhing as their manners are pure. Philadelphia (or the City of the Brethren), which is their capital, is one of the moſt beautiful cities in the univerſe; and in the year 1740 contained upwards of 80,000 ſouls. But the inhabitants are not all of them quakers, one half of them conſiſting of Germans, Swedes, and other nations, which altogether form ſeventeen different religions; and yet the quakers, who have the chief government, treat them all as brethren.

Beyond this ſingular ſpot of the globe, where affrighted peace hath ſheltered herſelf, when chaced from every other part, we come to New England, whoſe capital is Boſton, the richeſt city on all that coaſt.

This city was at firſt peopled and governed by puritans, who had fled from the perſecution raiſed againſt them in England by the famous Laud, archbiſhop of Canterbury, whoſe head afterwards paid for his perſecutions, and whoſe fate was a prelude to that of his weak and unfortunate maſter Charles I. Theſe puritans,

tans, who were a kind of Calviniſts, took refuge in this country, afterwards called New England, in the year 1620; and it might be ſaid of them and the epiſcopal party who perſecuted them in England, that they were tygers who made war upon bears; for theſe latter brought over with them to America their gloomy and moroſe diſpoſition, by which they miſerably harraſſed the pacific Penſylvanians when they came firſt to ſettle near them. But in the year 1692, theſe puritans proved a heavy ſcourge to themſelves, by the moſt unaccountable epidemic madneſs that ever poſſeſſed the human race.

At the time when Europe was beginning to emerge from the abyſs of horrible ſuperſtition and ignorance, in which it had been plunged for ſuch a number of ages; and that witchcraft and the power of evil ſpirits was no longer regarded in England and other civilized nations, but as ancient prejudices and follies, at which all reaſonable men bluſhed; the puritans revived them in America. A young woman happened to be ſeized with convulſions in the year 1692, a holder-forth accuſes an old maid-ſervant in the family of having bewitched her, and the poor old woman is obliged to confeſs herſelf a witch. Upon this half of the inhabitants believe themſelves bewitched, and accuſe the other half of the black art; the populace riſe and threaten to hang the judges if they do not order the accuſed perſons to be hanged. Thus for two years nothing was talked of but witchcraft, witches, and hanging; and they were countrymen of the great Locke and Newton who were ſeized with this madneſs. At length the malady abated, and the people of New England, being a little come to themſelves, were amazed, and aſhamed at their outrageous folly. They now applied themſelves to trade and huſbandry, and their colony ſoon became the moſt flouriſhing of any; inſomuch, that in the year 1750, it contained near 150,000 inhabitants, which is ten times the number that the French have in their ſettlements.

From New England we come to New York or Acadia, which has been the ſubject of ſo much diſcord and bloodſhed; and Newfoundland, where the great cod-

fiſhery

fishery is carried on: and then, after having sailed some way to the eastward, we arrive at Hudson's Bay, by which it has been vainly hoped to find out a shorter passage to the extremities of the eastern and western hemispheres.

The islands which the English possess in America have proved almost as profitable to them as their continent. Jamaica, Bardadoes, and some others, where they grow sugar, have turned out exceedingly profitable, not only on account of their own manufactures, but of the trade carried on from them with New Spain, which is so much the more advantageous as it is prohibited.

The Dutch, who are so powerful in the East Indies, are hardly known in America; the little colony of Surinam, in the neighbourhood of the Brasils, being the only territory of any consequence that they are possessed of in that part of the world. Thither they have carried the genius of their country, which is to cut their lands into canals. They have made a new Amsterdam at Surinam as well as at Batavia, and the island of Curacoa yields them a considerable profit. Lastly, the Danes have of late been possessed of three small islands, and have opened a very beneficial trade, through the encouragement their king has given them.

This is all that the Europeans have done of any consequence, at present, in this fourth part of the globe.

There yet remains a fifth, which is that of the *Terra Australis*, or Antarctic land, of which only a small part of the sea coast and some few islands have, as yet, been discovered. If we comprehend under the name of this new southern world the Papous-land and New Guinea, which begin even under the equator, it is evident, that this part of the world is by far the most extensive of any.

Magellan discovered the Antarctic land, in 1520, lying in 51 degrees south declination; but these frozen climes proved no temptation to the masters of Peru. Since that time several immense countries have been discovered to the southward of the Indies, and in particular

lar New Holland, which ſtretches from the 10th to he 30th degree. The Dutch Batavia company are ſaid o be in poſſeſſion of ſeveral advantageous ſettlements n this country; but it is not very eaſy to carry on a rade, and be maſters of whole provinces unknown to he reſt of the world. It is not unlikely that this fifth portion of the globe may yet be viſited by ſome new dventurers, from whom we may learn that nature has ot neglected theſe climes; that ſhe exhibits her uſual variety and profuſion in them, as well as throughout the reſt of the world.

But hitherto we know little or nothing of theſe immenſe countries, except that there are ſome wild and uncultivated coaſts where Pelſart and his companions, in 1630, found black men who walked upon their hands as upon feet; a bay where Taſman, in 1642, was attacked by a people with yellow complexions, armed with clubs and arrows; and another where Dampier, in 1649, had an engagement with a race of negroes who had no fore-teeth in their upper jaws. We have not yet penetrated into this ſegment of the globe; and it muſt be confeſſed, that it is better to improve and cultivate our own countries, than to go in ſearch of the frozen regions, and motley-coloured animals of the ſouthern pole.

Of PARAGUAY.

Of the power of the Jeſuits in that part of the world, and of their diſputes with the Spaniards and Portugueſe.

THE conqueſt of Mexico and of Peru are prodigies of human boldneſs; the cruelties which were exerciſed there, and the total extirpation of the inhabitants of St. Domingo and ſome other iſlands, the utmoſt ſtretch of human barbarity: but the ſettlement of Paraguay, eſtabliſhed only by a few Spaniſh Jeſuits, appears the triumph of humanity, and ſeems in ſome meaſure to make attonement for the cruelties of the firſt conquerors. The Quakers of America, and the Jeſuits of

of Paraguay, have exhibited a new ſpectacle to the world. The former have ſoftened the rugged manners of the ſavages bordering on Penſylvania; they have won them to inſtruction by the mere force of example, without making any attempt upon their liberties; and have procured them new conveniences of life, by bringing them acquainted with trade. The Jeſuits have indeed made uſe of religion to deprive the inhabitants of Paraguay of their liberties; but on the other hand, they have civilized them, have taught them to be induſtrious, and have ſucceeded in governing a vaſt country, in the ſame manner as a convent is governed in Europe. Upon examination, the quakers appear to have acted the moſt juſtly, and the Jeſuits the moſt politically. The former conſidered the attempt to reduce their neighbours under ſubjection in the light of a crime; the latter made a virtue of ſubduing ſavages by mildneſs and inſtruction.

Paraguay is a vaſt country, lying between Braſil, Peru, and Chili. The Spaniards, who made themſelves maſters of this coaſt, founded the city of Buenos Ayres, a place of great trade, on the river la Plata; but with all their power, they were too few in number to conquer the ſwarms of natives that dwelt in the midſt of the foreſts, and whom, however, it was neceſſary to ſubject, in order to facilitate to themſelves a paſſage from Buenos Ayres to Peru. In this conqueſt, the Jeſuits aſſiſted them much more effectually than their ſoldiers could have done. Theſe miſſionaries penetrated by degrees into the heart of the country in the 17th century. Some of the ſavage natives, who had been taken when young, and bred up in Buenos Ayres, ſerved them both as guides and interpreters. The fatigues and labours they underwent, equalled, if not exceeded, thoſe of the conquerors of the new world. The courage inſpired by religion is at leaſt as great as that which actuates the warrior in purſuit of fame. They were diſcouraged by no difficulties, and at length they ſucceeded in the manner following:

The

The cows, ſheep, and oxen, which had been brought from Europe to Buenos Ayres, having multiplied prodigiouſly, they took a great number of theſe with them, as likewiſe ſeveral waggon-loads of all kinds of inſtruments of huſbandry and architecture. They ſowed ſome plains which they found on their way with the ſeveral ſorts of European grain, and made a preſent of the whole to the ſavages, whom they thus lured to their purpoſe, as animals are caught with a bait. Theſe nations conſiſted only in a number of families, who lived ſeparate from each other, without ſociety, or the knowledge of religion. They were, however, ſoon brought into the former, by having new wants given them from the new productions with which they were ſupplied. The miſſionaries, in the next place, with the aſſiſtance of ſome of the inhabitants of Buenos Ayres, endeavoured to teach them to ſow and till the ground, make bricks, hew timber, and build houſes. In a ſhort time, theſe wild and uncivilized people were wholly transformed, and became uſeful and obedient ſubjects to their benefactors; and though they did not immediately become proſelytes to Chriſtianity, the doctrine of which was above their comprehenſion, their children, by being bred up in that religion, ſoon became thorough Chriſtians.

This ſettlement, in its beginning, conſiſted only of fifty families, which, in the year 1750, were increaſed to an hundred thouſand. The Jeſuits, in the ſpace of one century, have formed thirty cantons, to which they have given the name of the *Country of the Miſſions*, each canton at preſent contains 10,000 inhabitants. One father Florentin, a Franciſcan friar, who was at Paraguay in the year 1711, and who, in every page of his narrative, expreſſes his admiration of this new government, ſays, that the village of St. Xavier, in which he lived a conſiderable time, contained at leaſt 30,000 ſouls: from whence we may conclude, with ſome degree of certainty, that the Jeſuits have raiſed upwards of 400,000 ſubjects by mere perſuaſion.

If

If any thing can give us a clear idea of this colony it is the ancient Lacedæmonian government. All things are in common in Paraguay; and the uſe of gold and ſilver is unknown to theſe people, though bordering on the mines of Peru. The eſſential character of a Spartan was obedience to the laws of Lycurgus; that of an inhabitant of Paraguay has hitherto been obedience to the laws of the Jeſuits. In a word, there ſeems to be a perfect reſemblance between the two people; ſave only that thoſe of Paraguay have no ſlaves to till their lands or hew their timber, as the Spartans had; but are themſelves ſlaves to the Jeſuits.

This country is indeed dependent in ſpiritual matters on the biſhop of Buenos Ayres, and in temporals, on the governor of that city. It is alſo ſubject to the king of Spain, in like manner as the provinces of La Plata and Chili; but the Jeſuits, the original founders of this colony, have always maintained an abſolute government over the people whom they formed. They gave the king of Spain a piaſtre per head for each of their ſubjects; and this they pay to the governor of Buenos Ayres, either in money or commodities: they only are poſſeſſed of the former, for the ſubjects never touch it. This is the only mark of vaſſalage which the Spaniſh government has thought requiſite to demand of them. But the governor of Buenos Ayres cannot appoint any perſon to any office, either military or civil, in the Jeſuits country; nor can the biſhop ſend ſo much as a pariſh prieſt thither.

An attempt was once made to ſend two curates to the villages of Our Lady of Faith and St. Ignatius, and they even took the precaution to ſend a guard of ſoldiers with them; but the people of both villages quitted their habitations, and divided themſelves among the other cantons; and the two curates, finding themſelves left alone, returned back to Buenos Ayres.

Another biſhop, incenſed at hearing of this affront, which had been put upon his predeceſſor, reſolved to eſtabliſh the cuſtomary church government throughout the Country of Miſſions. For this purpoſe, he invited all the clergy in his juriſdiction to repair to him on a day

day appointed, in order to receive their reſpective charges; but no one dared to appear. We have this fact related by the Jeſuits themſelves, in one of their memorials, which they publiſhed. Thus, then, they commenced abſolute maſters in ſpiritual affairs, and no leſs ſo in the civil. They, indeed, allow a paſſage through their country to the officers that the governor ſends to Peru; but thoſe officers are not permitted to ſtay above three days in the country, during which time they muſt not converſe with any of the inhabitants; and, though they come in the king's name, they are treated exactly like foreigners, who are ſuſpected of being ſpies. The Jeſuits, who have always been careful to preſerve appearances, make uſe of religion as a pretext to juſtify this behaviour, which might be conſtrued into diſobedience and contempt; and they declared to the council of the Indies, at Madrid, that they could not conſent to receive a Spaniard into their provinces, leſt he ſhould corrupt the manners of the natives; and this reaſon, which carries with it ſuch an inſult upon their own country, has been admitted as ſatisfactory by the kings of Spain, who could not hope for any aſſiſtance from the Paraguayans, but on this extraordinary condition, which is a reproach and diſgrace to a nation ſo proud and tenacious of their honour as the Spaniards.

The form of government in this nation, the only one of its kind in the known world, is as follows: The provincial, or Jeſuit governor, with the aſſiſtance of his council, frames the laws; and each rector, aſſiſted by another council, takes care that they are obſerved; a perſon is choſen from among the body of inhabitants of each canton, as a juſtice of the peace *, and has under him

* The French term is *Un Procureur Fiſcal*, which is a kind of attorney, who proſecutes within his juriſdiction all cauſes wherein the public are intereſted; but in this place his office ſeems rather to be that of a juſtice of the peace (as I have ventured to render it) for the particular canton in which he is choſen; and that of his lieutenant, a conſtable. We have no term in Engliſh which anſwers to the French but attorney-general, which is too extenſive in the ſenſe here meant.

him a lieutenant. These two officers go round their district every day, and give an account to the superior of whatever passes.

Every village carries on some manufactory; and the workmen in each profession meet together, and perform their occupations in common, and in the presence of their overseers, who are appointed by the fiscal. The Jesuits furnish the hemp, cotton, and flax, which the inhabitants work up. They also give out the grain to be sown, which is reaped in common; and the whole produce of the harvest deposited in the public magazines, from whence each family is supplied with what it wants for its subsistence, and the remainder is sold at Buenos Ayres, or Peru.

The Paraguayans keep flocks; they raise corn, pease, indigo, cotton, hemp, sugar-canes, jalap, ipecacuanha, and a plant called *Paraguay-Grass*, which is a kind of tea, greatly esteemed in South America, and of which they make a considerable traffic. These commodities are returned in goods and specie; the former the Jesuits distribute among the inhabitants, and the gold and silver they make use of to decorate their churches, and to answer the calls of the government. Each canton has an arsenal, or military storehouse, from whence, on certain days, they give out arms to such of the inhabitants as know how to make use of them. A Jesuit superintends the exercise, which is performed in a regular manner, and after it is over, the arms are all returned again into the store, no inhabitant being allowed to keep arms in his house. The same principle, which has made these people the most tractable of all subjects, has likewise made them excellent soldiers. They fight as they obey, from a belief that it is their duty. Their assistance has been more than once necessary against the Portuguese of Brasil, the Banditti, who are known by the name of Mammelucs, and the Musqueto savages, who were a race of cannibals. They have always been headed by Jesuits in these expeditions, and have always fought with courage, order, and success.

In

In the year 1662, when the Spaniards laid ſiege to the city of St. Sacrament, of which the Portugueſe had made themſelves maſters, and which gave birth to ſuch extraordinary accidents, a Jeſuit brought 4000 Paraguayans to the aſſiſtance of the former, who ſcaled the walls of the town, and entered the place ſword in hand. And here I muſt not omit one circumſtance, which will ſhew that theſe monks, who were uſed to command, underſtood their buſineſs much better than the governor of Buenos Ayres, who was at the head of the Spaniſh forces. This general, when the aſſault was going to be made, gave orders for placing a rank of horſes in front of the men, in order, that the cannon from the enemy's ramparts having ſpent their fire upon theſe creatures, the ſoldiers might advance with leſs danger; but the Jeſuit, who headed the Paraguayans, repreſented the folly and danger of ſuch a ſcheme, and ordered the place to be attacked in the uſual way.

The manner in which theſe people fought for the Spaniards ſhewed, that they would not be a loſs to defend themſelves upon occaſion, and that it would be dangerous to attempt to make any change in their government. It is certain, that the Jeſuits have already formed to themſelves an empire in Paraguay, of about 400 leagues in circumference, and that they have it in their power to add to its extent.

Though vaſſals, in all appearance, to the crown of Spain, they are in effect kings, and perhaps the beſt obeyed of any kings upon earth. They have been at once founders, legiſlators, pontiffs, and ſovereigns.

A government of a conſtitution altogether ſo new and extraordinary, and eſtabliſhed in another hemiſphere, is an effect perhaps the moſt diſtant from its cauſe that was ever known to the world. We have, for a conſiderable time, ſeen prieſts poſſeſſed of ſovereign authority in Europe; but they attained to this rank, which ſeems ſo oppoſite to their real condition, by a gradual and natural progreſſion. They obtained conſiderable lands, and theſe lands, like moſt others, have in time become fiefs and principalities. But the Jeſuits had nothing given them in Paraguay; and they have made

themſelves abſolute ſovereigns, without even pretending to be proprietors of a foot of land. In a word, every thing has been of their own creation.

But having at length abuſed their power, they have loſt great part of it; for when the crown of Spain ceded the city of St. Sacrament, together with its vaſt dependencies to the Portugueſe, the Jeſuits had the boldneſs to oppoſe this convention; the people whom they governed would not conſent to be under the Portugueſe government, and for ſome time reſiſted both their old and new maſters.

If we may credit the *Relacio abbrevinda*, the Portugueſe general d'Andrado, wrote to the Spaniſh general Valdareos, in the year 1750, in theſe terms: "The Je-"ſuits are the only rebels. Their Indians have twice "attacked the Portugueſe fort of Pardo, with a con-"ſiderable train of artillery." The ſame relation adds, that the Indians cut off the heads of their priſoners, and carried them to their commanders the Jeſuits. Although this charge may be true, it does not ſeem very probable.

It is however certain, that in the year 1757, there was an inſurrection in one of their provinces called St. Nicholas, when ſome mutineers took the field, to the number of 13,000, under the command of two Jeſuits named Lamp and Tadeo; and this gave riſe to a report, which was generally believed, that one of the Jeſuits had cauſed himſelf to be proclaimed king of Paraguay, by the name of Nicholas I.

While the monks of this order were carrying on a war againſt the kings of Spain and Portugal, in America, their brethren in Europe were the confeſſors of thoſe very kings. But of late we have ſeen them accuſed of rebellion, and an intent to murder their lawful king in Liſbon, entirely driven out of Portugal in the year 1758, and violently perſecuted at the court of Madrid. The Portugueſe government have cleared all their American colonies of them; but they ſtill remain maſters of all that part of Paraguay which belongs to Spain, where it is very difficult to get at them, and where they

ſtill

ſtill continue to ſhare the ſovereign authority with the crown of Spain, over an immenſe tract of country. This is an example hitherto not paralleled in the hiſtory of the univerſe. It ſhall be the ſubject of ſome future pages to ſhew, why the whole earth ſeems to have taken up arms againſt them, and why the ſee of Rome alone has declared herſelf their protectreſs.

Of the MOGUL.

Vol. IV. ch. 129. page 26, 30.

THOUGH there were ſeveral Indian aſtronomers, who underſtood the calculating of eclipſes, yet the common people could not be brought to believe otherwiſe than that the ſun was fallen into the throat of a great dragon, and that the only way to free him from thence, was by ſtanding naked in the water, and making a hideous noiſe to frighten the dragon, and oblige him to let go his hold. This notion, which is ſo generally prevalent among the orientals, is an evident proof, how much the ſymbols of religion and natural philoſophy have at all times been perverted by the common people. The aſtronomers of all ages have been wont to diſtinguiſh the two points of interſection, upon which every eclipſe happens, and which are called the *Lunar Nodes* by marking them with a dragon's head and tail. Now the vulgar, who are equally ignorant in every part of the world, took the ſymbol or ſign for the thing itſelf. Thus, when the aſtronomers ſaid the ſun was in the dragon's head, the dragon is going to ſwallow up the ſun, ſaid the common people; and yet theſe people were remarkable for their fondneſs for aſtrology. But while we laugh at the ignorance and credulity of the Indians, we do not reflect, that there are no leſs than 500,000 almanacs ſold in Europe, all of them filled with obſervations and predictions equally falſe and abſurd, with any to be met with among the Indians: for is it not as reaſonable to ſay, that the ſun is in the mouth or the claws of a dragon, as to tell people every year, in print, that they muſt not ſow, nor plant, nor take phyſic, nor be bled, but on certain days of the

moon. It is high time, in an age like ours, that some men of learning would think it worth their while to compose a calendar, that might be of real use to the industrious husbandmen, and instruct instead of deceiving them.

Id. page 31.] We are told by a missionary of undoubted credit, that in the year 1710, forty wives of the prince of Marava threw themselves alive upon his funeral pile, and were burnt with the dead corpse of their lord. The same author also says, that in the year 1717 two princes of that country being dead, seventeen wives of the one, and thirteen of the other, devoted themselves to death in the same manner; and that the last being with child, waited till she was delivered, and then threw herself into the flames. The missionary adds further, that these examples are more frequent among the principal estates, or classes, than among the lower people; and this we find confirmed by other missionaries. The contrary should seem the most probable; for the wives of the grandees have more to attach them to life than the wives of handicrafts, or of hard working men; but unhappily, a notion of honour has been annexed to these voluntary sacrifices, and as women of rank are more susceptible of a love of glory than the vulgar, and that the Bramins always claim the garments and ornaments worn by the unhappy victims on such occasions, these latter have found it more their interest to encourage this delusion in the rich than in the poor.

OF PERSIA.

Vol. IV. ch. 130. AMONG the many causes of complaint alledged by the Persians against their enemies the Turks, the chief has always been the murder of Haly, though the Turks certainly were not the murderers of that prophet, as there was no such people as Turks then existing. But in this manner do the common people in general reason

nd it is ſurprizing that they did not ſooner take advantage of this mutual hatred to eſtabliſh a new ſect.

Of the OTTOMAN Empire in the Sixteenth Century.

Vol. IV. ch. 131. page 39. AFTER the death of Tumanbai, or Toman Bey, the laſt king of the Mammelukes, the people of Egypt ſunk into the loweſt ſtate of abjection: and they, who are ſaid to have been a brave and warlike race in the reign of Seſoſtris, are now more effeminate and daſtardly than even in the time of Cleopatra. We are told, that Egypt gave birth to the ſciences, and now not one is cultivated there; that her people were ſedate and grave, now they are volatile and unthinking, dancing and ſinging to the muſic of their own chains; the prodigious number of her inhabitants, which are ſaid to have paſſed all counting, are now reduced to three millions at the moſt. Rome or Athens have not experienced a greater change than this country, which is an undeniable proof, that though a climate may have ſome influence on the diſpoſitions of men, yet the government has a much greater.

Of the Coaſt of BARBARY.

Vol. IV. ch. 132. A LATE dey of Algiers ſaid to an Engliſh conſul, who was complaining to him of ſome prizes his corſairs had made, "Never com-"plain to the captain of a gang that you have been "robbed." Throughout all the northern parts of Africa, we continually meet with monuments of the ancient Romans, whereas there are not the leaſt footſteps of any thing belonging to the Chriſtians, notwithſtanding there were many more biſhoprics here than in France and Spain put together. There are two reaſons to be aſſigned for this; the one is, that the very ancient ſtructures of hard ſtone, or of marble and cement, with-

ſtand the attack of time in a dry climate better than the more modern edifices; the other, that monuments with the inſcription *Diis Manibus* on them, which the Barbarians do not underſtand, do not conſequently awaken their diſpleaſure ſo much as the ſight of the ſymbols of the Chriſtian religion, to which they are ſuch bitter enemies.

In the polite ages of Arabia, the arts and ſciences flouriſhed among the Numidians; at preſent thoſe people cannot ſo much as regulate their year; and, though perpetually exerciſing the trade of pirates, they have not one pilot capable of taking an obſervation, nor one good ſhip-builder among them; but buy their ſhips, cordage, guns, and gunpowder of us Chriſtians, and in particular of the Dutch; and with theſe they afterwards take our merchant ſhips, while the powers of Chriſtendom, inſtead of uniting to cruſh their common enemy, are buſied in mutally deſtroying each other.

Of the Kingdom of FEZ and MOROCCO.

Vol. IV. ch. 134. THIS empire reaches to the frontiers of Guinea, in a moſt pleaſant climate; few territories are more rich and fruitful, or abound with great variety. Several branches of Mount Atlas are full of mines, and the level country produces great abundance of all kinds of grain, and ſome of the beſt fruits in the world. This country was formerly cultivated as it deſerved. This muſt have been under the firſt caliphs, ſince we find the arts and ſciences were then in high eſtimation; and theſe are generally the laſt matters attended to. The Moors and Arabians of this country carried their arts and their arms with them into Spain; but every thing has ſince degenerated and fallen into a ſtate of ignorance and barbariſm. The Mahometan Arabians, who civilized this country, have ſince retired into the deſerts, where they lead a paſtoral life; and the government has been left to the Moors, a race of men leſs favoured by nature than their climate, and leſs induſtrious than the Arabians; a people at once cruel and

and ſlaviſh. Here we find deſpotic power reigning in all its horrors. The ancient cuſtom which obliges the Miramolins, or emperors of Morocco, to be the chief executioners in their kingdom, has not a little contributed to make the inhabitants of this vaſt empire infinitely greater ſavages than the Mexicans. Thoſe of Tetuan are a little more civilized, but the reſt of this nation are a diſgrace to human nature. Several of the Jews, driven out of Spain by Ferdinand and Iſabella, took refuge with their families in Tetuan, Mequinez, and Morocco, where they lead moſt miſerable lives. The inhabitants of the northern provinces have intermixed with the blacks, who live about the banks of the Niger.

There have been religious diſputes in this kingdom, as well as in all others; and a ſect of Muſſulmans, who pretended to be more orthodox than the reſt, diſpoſed of the throne; which never happened at Conſtantimople. There have been likewiſe ſome civil wars; but at length the dominions of Fez, Morocco, and Tafilet, were all united into one empire, in the ſeventeenth century, after the famous victory gained by the Moors over the unfortunate Don Sebaſtin, king of Portugal.

Notwithſtanding the great degree of brutal ſtupidity into which this people are fallen, the Spaniards and Portugueſe have never yet been able to take vengeance on them for their former ſlavery, and ſubject them in their turn. Oran, which is the frontier of their empire towards Spain, though once taken by cardinal Ximenes, who loſt it again, and retaken a ſecond time by the duke of Montemar, in the reign of Philip V. in 1730, ſince which time it has remained in the hands of the Spaniards has not opened them a way to further conqueſts. Tangier, which might be the key of the empire, has never proved of any uſe to them: and laſtly, Ceuta, taken by the Portugueſe in the year 1409, and afterwards by the Spaniards in the reign of Philip II. and who have kept it ever ſince, has been only a dead expence to them. Thus we find that the

Moors ſubjected all Spain, whereas the Spainards have as yet been able only to vex the Moors, and after having croſſed the Atlantic ocean, and conquered a new world, have not the power to revenge themſelves within five leagues of their own kingdom. The Moors, though badly armed, worſe diſciplined, and ſlaves to the moſt deteſtable of all governments, have hitherto bid defiance to all the attempts of the Chriſtians to ſubject them. The true cauſe ſeems to lie in the conſtant and mutual diſſentions of the latter amongſt themſelves. How, for inſtance, could the Spaniards croſs over to Barbary with a force ſufficient to ſubdue the Muſſulmans, when they had their neighbours, the French, to fight againſt? Or, when at peace and in union with France, how could they engage in ſuch an expedition, when the Engliſh had taken Gibraltar and Minorca from them?

It is ſomewhat extraordinary, that there ſhould be ſo great a number of Spaniſh, French, and Engliſh renegadoes in the empire of Morocco. We find a Spaniard of the name of Perez, admiral, under Mully Iſmael; a Frenchman, named Pilet, governor of Sallee; an Iriſh woman miſtreſs to the tyrant Iſmael; and ſome natives of England ſettled as merchants at Tetuan. The hopes of making a fortune amongſt an ignorant people has always carried Europeans to Africa, Aſia, and America, particularly the latter. The contrary reaſon keeps the people of thoſe regions from viſiting us.

A BRIEF

A BRIEF ACCOUNT OF SOME OF THE PRINCIPAL TRANSACTIONS OF THE COUNCIL OF TRENT.

IN the midſt of ſo many religious wars, and ſuch a ſcene of diſaſters, the council of Trent was aſſembled. This council was the longeſt that had ever been held, and yet the moſt peaceable. It formed no ſchiſm like that of Baſil, it lighted no fires like that of Conſtance, it did not pretend to depoſe crowned heads like that of Lyons, nor did it follow the example of the council of Lateran, which ſtript the count of Thouloufe of his patrimony, and far leſs that of Rome, in which pope Gregory VII. kindled the flames of diſcord throughout Europe, by preſuming to depoſe the emperor Henry IV. The third and fourth council of Conſtantinople, and the firſt and ſecond of Nice, had been theatres of diviſions and enmity; but this council of Trent was peaceable, or at leaſt its diſputes were neither public nor attended with conſequences.

If there is any hiſtorical certainty, it is in what was written concerning this council by cotemporary authors. The famous Sarpi, the defender of the Venetian liberties, better known by the name of Fra. Paolo; and the Jeſuit Palavicini, his antagoniſt, both agree in eſſential matters of fact. It is true that Palavicini reckons 360 errors committed by Fra. Paolo; but what are theſe errors? He accuſes him with having miſtaken dates and names. Palavicini has been detected in as many faults as his adverſary; and when he is in

the right againſt him, it is hardly worth being in the right. Of what conſequence is it, whether a trifling letter of Leo X. was written in 1516 or 1517? Whether the nuncio Archimbold, who made ſuch a traffic of indulgences in the North, was the ſon of a tradeſman of Milan or of Genoa? Or, indeed, what ſignifies it whether he did or did not ſell indulgences? What matters it whether cardinal Martinuſius was a monk of the order of St. Baſil, or an hermit of St. Paul? But we ſhould be glad to know, whether this defender of Tranſilvania, againſt the Turks, was aſſaſſinated by the order of Ferdinand I. brother to Charles V. In fine, Sarpi and Palavicini have both told the truth, but in a different manner; one as a freeman, and the defender of a free ſenate; the other as a Jeſuit, who wanted to be a cardinal.

Charles V. propoſed to pope Clement VII. to call this council as early as the year 1533, but that pontiff, who ſtill trembled at the remembrance of the ſacking of Rome, and his own captivity, and dreading, leſt the ſtory of his ſpurious birth ſhould embolden the council to depoſe him, eluded the emperor's requeſt, to whom he did not dare to give an abſolute denial. Francis I. of France, propoſed Geneva as the place of ſeſſion, at the very time that the reformed religion began to be preached in that city. It is more than probable, that if the council had been held in Geneva the reformed party would have been conſiderable ſufferers.

During theſe procraſtinations, the proteſtants of Germany demand a national council to be held; and, in their anſwer to the pope's legate Contarini, found their requeſt upon theſe words of our Saviour, "When "two or three are gathered together in my name, I "will be in the midſt of them." Their quotation was allowed to be juſt; but it was ſaid at the ſame time, that if two or three perſons were gathered together in the name of Chriſt, in an hundred thouſand different places of the earth, this might produce an hundred wars and councils, which might produce as many different confeſſions of faith, in which caſe there never would have been any union, though it might be allowed at the

the ſame time, that there never would have been any civil wars.

Pope Paul III. (of the family of Farneſe) propoſes Vicenza; but the Venetians reply, that the Turkiſh Divan might take umbrage at an aſſembly of Chriſtians being held in the Venetian territories. He next propoſes Mantua; but the chief of that city is apprehenſive of admitting a foreign garriſon: at length the city of Trent is pitched upon, the pope being willing to pay a compliment to the emperor, of whoſe aſſiſtance he ſtood very much in need at that time, having hopes to obtain the inveſtiture of the Milaneſe, for his natural ſon Peter Farneſe, to whom he afterwards gave Parma and Placentia.

The council is at length convoked by a bull, "by the "authority of the Father, the Son, and the Holy Ghoſt, "and of the apoſtles Peter and Paul, whoſe authority "the pope exerciſes upon earth;" in which the emperor, the king of France, and the other crowned heads, are invited to be preſent thereat. Charles V. expreſſes his indignation, that they ſhould have dared to put a king upon a footing with him, and eſpecially a king who was in alliance with infidels, after all that he had done for the ſervice of the church. But here his Imperial majeſty ſeems to have forgotten the ſacking of Rome.

Pope Paul, who wanted to beſtow the inveſtiture of Parma and Placentia on his baſtard, and thought, that Francis I. might be more ſerviceable to him in that affair than the emperor, in order to intimidate the latter, who was preſſed hard both by the Turks and proteſtants, threatens him with the fate of Coran, Dathan, and Abiram, in caſe he oppoſed the beſtowing the inveſtiture of Parma; adding, "The Jews have been diſperſed for "crucifying their maſter; and the Greeks have loſt "their empire and their liberty for having inſulted his "vicar."

After a great deal of caballing, the emperor and the pope are reconciled. Charles permits his baſtard to reign quietly in Parma; and Paul ſends three legates to open

open the council at Trent, which he propoſes to direct from his Vatican. His legates correſpond with him in cyphers, an invention very little known in thoſe days, and which was firſt made uſe of by the Italians.

The legates and the archbiſhop of Trent begin, by granting three years and 360 days deliverance from purgatory, to every one who ſhall actually be in the city at the opening of the council.

The pope iſſues a bull, forbidding any prelate to appear by proxy, and immediately the proxies of the archbiſhop of Mentz arrive, and are well received; this law not being made for the eccleſiaſtical princes of Germany, whom it was the pope's intereſt to humour.

And now Paul beſtows on his ſon, Peter Lewis Farneſe, the inveſtiture of the duchy of Parma and Placentia, with the connivance of Charles V. and publiſhes a jubilee.

The council is opened by a ſermon from the biſhop of Bitonto, in which this prelate proves, that a council was neceſſary, "Firſt, becauſe ſeveral councils had "depoſed kings and emperors. Secondly, becauſe we "read in Virgil's Æneid, that Jupiter aſſembled a coun-"cil of the gods." He goes on with obſerving, "That "God called a council before he created man, and de-"ſtroyed the Tower of Babel; that all the prelates "of the church ought to repair to Trent, as the Greeks "did into the Trojan horſe. That the gate of the "council chamber, and that of Paradiſe, are one and "the ſame; that the ſpring of the fountain of life flows "from it, with which the fathers are to ſprinkle their "hearts, as parched lands; or elſe that the Holy Ghoſt "will open their mouths as it did thoſe of Balaam and "Caiphas."

A diſcourſe of this kind ſeems to contradict what we have ſaid of the revival of learning in Italy. But this biſhop of Bitonto was a Milaneze monk; a native of Florence or of Rome, or a diſciple of Bembo or Caza, would not have talked in this manner. It muſt be conſidered, that though good taſte was eſtabliſhed in ſeveral of the capital cities, it never ſpread over all the provinces.

The

The firſt thing ordered by the council, was, that the prelates ſhould always appear in the habit of their calling. The cuſtom at that time was for the clergy to dreſs like laymen, except when in the exerciſe of their function.

There were very few prelates then preſent at the council; moſt of the biſhops of great ſees brought theologians, or profeſſors of divinity, along with them, who ſpoke for them. There were ſome alſo employed by the pope.

Almoſt all theſe theologians were monks of the order of St. Francis, or of that of St. Dominic, and were continually diſputing about original ſin, notwithſtanding the emperor's embaſſadors objected againſt ſuch diſputes, which they looked upon as idle and of no utility. Theſe monks began upon the grand queſtion, Whether the Virgin Mother of Chriſt was born ſubject to the ſin of Adam? The Dominicans, adverſaries of the Franciſcans, obſtinately maintained, with their patron St. Thomas, that ſhe was conceived in original ſin. The diſpute was long and vehement; and the council was at length obliged to put an end to it, by determining, that the Virgin was not comprehended in the original ſin common to all mankind, but at the ſame time ſhe was not altogether exempt from it.

Duprat, biſhop of Clermont, after this was over, requires, that his maſter the king of France may be prayed for by name, as well as the emperor, as he had received the ſame invitation as the emperor to the council; but his demand was refuſed, it being alledged that in this caſe they muſt alſo pray for the other kings by name, which might occaſion ſome difference with thoſe, who ſhould find themſelves laſt named: the rank of crowned heads remained as unſettled then, as in former times.

Peter d'Anes arrives with the character of ambaſſador from the king of France. It was at one of the meetings of this council that he made his famous repartee to to an Italian biſhop, who, after having heard him ſpeak a long

a long time ſaid, when he had ended, How this cock crows! *Gallus cantat!* (the words cock and Frenchman are both expreſſed in the Latin tongue by *gallus.)* To this inſipid pun d'Anes replied with great coolneſs; "Would to God Peter may repent at the crowing of "this cock."

And this is a proper place for taking notice of the *bon môt* of don Bartholomew de los Martiros, primate of Portugal, who, ſpeaking of the neceſſity of a reformation in the church, ſaid, "That the moſt illuſtrious cardinals "ſtood in need of being moſt illuſtriouſly reformed."

The biſhops could with difficulty be brought to yield the precedency to the cardinals, whom they did not reckon as belonging to the church hierarchy; and the cardinals had not, at that time, the title of eminency, which they did not aſſume till under the pontificate of pope Urban VIII. Here it is to be obſerved, that although all the fathers and theologians of the council ſpoke in Latin at their meetings, yet they had ſome difficulty to underſtand one another; by reaſon that a Pole, an Engliſhman, a German, a Frenchman, and an Italian, have each a very different manner of pronouncing that language.

One of the moſt important queſtions diſcuſſed in this council, was that of the reſidence of biſhops, and their inſtitution by divine right. Almoſt all the prelates, excepting thoſe of Italy, who were particularly in the pope's intereſt, inſiſted, that their inſtitution ſhould be declared *a jure divino*; alledging, that if it was not ſo, they could have no reaſon to condemn the proteſtants. But how could they pretend their inſtitution to be wholly divine, when they were obliged to receive their bulls of prelacy from the pope? If the council controverted this point, the pope would then be no more than a ſimple biſhop like themſelves. His ſee was indeed the firſt of the Latin church, but not firſt of all ſees; and therefore muſt loſe its authority: and this queſtion, which ſeemed at firſt wholly theological, became, in fact, a very political and delicate point. It continued to be debated a long time with great elocution; and none of the popes

popes, under whom this long council was held, would ever ſuffer it to be determined.

The ſubjects of predeſtination and ſaving grace were alſo a long time under conſideration, and at length decrees were drawn up; Dominic de Soto, one of the divines of this council, explained theſe decrees in favour of the opinion of the Dominicans, in three large volumes in folio: but father Andrew Vega anſwered him in fifteen volumes of the ſame ſize; in which he explained them to the advantage of the Franciſcans.

The doctrine of the ſeven ſacraments was next examined with great attention, and paſſed without any diſputes.

After having ſettled this tenet as it is now received by the whole Latin church, they proceeded to the plurality of church benefices. This was a tickliſh point: ſeveral of the members ſpoke largely againſt the abuſe, which had been long introduced, of ſuffering a number of benefices and dignities to be held by one perſon, and revived the old complaints which were made in the pontificate of pope Clement VII. who in the year 1534 granted his nephew cardinal Hippolito the uſufruction of all the vacant benefices in the world for ſix months.

Pope Paul wants to reſerve to himſelf the deciſion of this point; but the fathers make a decree, that no one ſhall hold two biſhoprics at the ſame time, but with this modification, that it may be done by virtue of a diſpenſation from the pope. This has never been refuſed to the German prelates; ſo that now a poor country curate ſhall be incapable of enjoying two livings of 100 crowns a year a piece, when a prelate ſhall be in poſſeſſion of biſhoprics to the amount of ſeveral millions. It was the intereſt of all the biſhops, princes, and nations in the world to root out this abuſe, and yet we find it authoriſed.

This point having ſomewhat ruffled the minds of the ſeveral parties, pope Paul tranſfers the council from Trent to Bologna, on pretence of a contag ous diſorder prevailing in the former.

During

During the two firſt ſeſſions of the council at Bologna, the pope's baſtard, Peter Lewis Farneſe, duke of Parma, become inſupportable through his inſolence, debauchery, and extortion, is murdered in Placentia, as Coſmo de Medicis had been before him in Ferrara, his brother Julian before him, duke Gallas Sforza in Milan, and ſeveral other new made princes. There are no proofs of the emperor Charles V. being acceſſary to this murder; but it is certain he enjoyed the fruits of it, for the very next day the governor of Milan ſeized upon Placentia in the emperor's name.

It may eaſily be ſuppoſed, that this murder, and the ſudden depriving the pope of the city of Placentia, occaſioned a rupture between the former and the emperor. Theſe diſſentions affected the council; and the few biſhops of the empire who remained behind in Trent, refuſed to acknowledge the fathers of the council of Bologna.

It was during theſe diſputes that Charles V. triumphant over the proteſtant princes, by the famous battle of Mulberg, in the year 1547, crowned with ſucceſs upon ſucceſs, and diſpleaſed with the pope, aſpires at the glory of doing what this could not, namely, to bring about an union at leaſt for a time, between the catholics and proteſtants of Germany. With this view he ſets the theologians to work on all ſides, and publiſhes his *Inhalt*, *Interim*, or temporary profeſſion of faith, till a better can be drawn up. This was not declaring himſelf head of the church, as Henry VIII. had done; but it would have been the ſame thing, in fact, if the Germans had been as tractable as the people of England.

This formula of the *Interim* has its foundation in the doctrine of the church of Rome, but modified and explained in terms leſs offenſive to thoſe of the reformed party. The laity were allowed to partake of the cup at the euchariſt, and prieſts to marry. There was wherewithal to have pleaſed every one, if the ſpirit of party could ever be pleaſed; but neither the catholics nor the proteſtants were ſatisfied. Pope Paul, who might have been expected to oppoſe this proceeding, remained

remained quiet. He foreſaw, that it would fall to the ground of itſelf; and even if he had been diſpoſed to make uſe of the ſame arms againſt the emperor, as his predeceſſors Gregory VII. and Innocent VI. the example of England and the power of Charles made him humble.

Other concerns more preſſing, becauſe of a private nature, diſturb the quiet of this pontiff's days. Affairs in Parma and Placentia were in an odd and tickliſh ſituation. Charles V. as maſter of Lombardy, had lately annexed Placentia to that territory, and might do the ſame by Parma.

The pope, on his part, wants to annex Parma to the eccleſiaſtical ſtate, and to give his grandſon, Octavio Farneſe, an equivalent. This prince is married to a natural daughter of the emperor, who has taken Placentia from him, and is grandſon to the pope, who wants to deprive him of Parma. Thus perſecuted at once by two ſuch near relations, he reſolves to aſk aſſiſtance from France, and oppoſe the deſigns of his grandfather the pope. Thus the incontinence of the pope and the emperor excites a furious quarrel in the council of Trent, and their baſtards ſtir up the moſt violent intrigues, while the monkiſh divines are buſied in argumentations. The pope, ſtruck with grief, dies, like almoſt all other ſovereign princes, in the midſt of the troubles they themſelves had raiſed, and which they do not live to ſee ended. His memory is ſeverely cenſured, ſometimes perhaps unjuſtly.

Juan del Monte is elected pope in his room, by the name of Julius III. and agrees to remove the council again to Trent; but the quarrel about Parma overturns this council. Octavio Farneſe perſiſts in refuſing to give up Parma to the holy ſee; Charles V. is as reſolute to keep Placentia, in ſpite of the tears and entreaties of his daughter Margaretta, Octavio's wife. Another baſtard ſteps in between, and brings the war into Italy. This was the wife of one of Octavio's brothers, a daughter of Henry II. king of France and the ducheſs of Valentinois, who engages her father Henry to eſpouſe her quarrel; who now declares himſelf the protector

of

of the houſe of Farneſe, againſt the emperor and the pope: and this very prince, while he is burning all the proteſtants in France, oppoſes the holding of a council againſt the proteſtants.

While the moſt chriſtian king is declaring againſt the council, ſome proteſtant princes ſend their ambaſſadors thither; namely, Maurice the new duke of Saxony, the new duke of Wirtemberg, and laſt of all the elector of Brandenburgh; but theſe ambaſſadors ſoon return back diſcontented. The French king alſo ſends an ambaſſador there; this was James Amiot, better known for his tranſlation of Plutarch than by his embaſſy: he however appears at the council only to proteſt againſt its proceedings.

In the mean time, the two electors of Mentz and Triers take their ſeats at the council below the pope's legates: the preſence of two cardinal legates, two nuncio's, two ambaſſadors from the emperor, one from the king of the Romans, together with ſome Italian, Spaniſh, and German biſhops, reſtore life and buſineſs in the council.

The Franciſcans and the Jacobines now divide the opinions of the fathers in relation to the euchariſt, as they before did touching the article of predeſtination. The Franciſcans maintain, that the body of Chriſt in the elements changes place, and the Jacobines inſiſt that it does not change place, but is inſtantaneouſly formed in the conſecrated bread.

The fathers come to a determination, that the body of Chriſt is under the appearance of the bread, and his blood under that of the wine; that the body and blood are together in each of the elements, by concomitance whole and entire, and that they are inſtantaneouſly produced anew in every morſel of the bread, and in every drop of the wine, and that accordingly there is the ſame worſhip due to them as to God.

During theſe debates, prince Philip, ſon to the emperor Chales V. and afterwards king of Spain, and the hereditary prince of Savoy, paſs through Trent. It is ſaid

ſaid in ſome of the books concerning the polite arts, that "the fathers gave a ball to theſe princes which was "opened by the cardinal of Mantua, and that the "fathers danced with a great deal of becoming gravity "and decency." Cardinal Palavicini is quoted in this account, to ſhew that dancing was not reckoned among the profane diverſions; and great ſtreſs is laid on the ſilence of Francis Paolo, who no where condemns this ball given by the cardinals.

It is certain, that among the Greeks and Hebrews dancing frequently made a part of their religious ceremonies; but it is not true that Palavicini, as is ſaid, ſpeaks of the fathers dancing: and the claim to Fr. Paolo's indulgence is as falſely grounded; for if he does not condemn this ball, it is in reality becauſe the fathers did not dance in it. Palavicini, in his 15th chapter of his 11th book, only ſays, that after a magnificent repaſt, given by the cardinal of Mantua, preſident of the council, in a large hall built on purpoſe, about a quarter of a mile out of the city, there were diverſions, jouſts, and dancings; but he does not ſay a word about the preſident of the council dancing at them.

In the midſt of theſe diverſions, and the more ſerious occupations of the council, Ferdinand I. king of Hungary, brother to Charles V. cauſes cardinal Martinuſius to be murdered in Hungary. This news fills the council with trouble and indignation. The fathers refer the cognizance of this villainous affair to the pope, who cannot take cognizance of it. The times of Thomas Becket and Henry II. of England, were long ſince paſt. Julius III. excommunicates the murderers, who were Italians, and ſome time after declares king Ferdinand, brother to the potent prince Charles V. abſolved from all cenſure on that occaſion. So that the death of the famous Martinuſius ſtill remains among the great number of aſſaſſinations which have paſſed unpuniſhed, to the diſgrace of human nature.

But now matters of greater moment diſturb this council. The proteſtant party, defeated at Mulberg, recovers ſtrength and appears in arms. The new elector of Saxony, Maurice, lays ſiege to Augſburgh; the

the emperor is ſurpriſed in the paſſes of Tirol, and is obliged to ſave himſelf by flight, with his brother Ferdinand; and, by this one reverſe of fortune, loſes the fruit of all his victories. The Turks threaten to invade Hungary. Henry II. of France, in alliance at the ſame time with the Turks and proteſtants, even while he is burning the latter at home as heretics, ſends troops into Germany and Italy. The fathers of the council fly in all haſte from the city of Trent, and the council continues forgotten for the ſpace of ten years.

At length in 1560, pope Pius IV. (by name Medequeno,) who pretended to be a deſcendent from thoſe great merchants, and greater princes, the Medicis, revives the council of Trent; to which he invites all the princes of Chriſtendom, and even ſends nuncios to the proteſtant princes aſſembled at Naumbourg in Saxony, whom he ſtiles his *Dear Sons*; but theſe princes refuſe to acknowledge him for their father, and return his letters.

The council recommences its ſeſſion by a ſolemn proceſſion of 112 biſhops between two files of muſqueteers; the biſhop of Reggio preaches a more eloquent ſermon than the biſhop of Bitonto, in which he raiſes the power of the church to the utmoſt poſſible height, by equalling it to that of God; for he ſays, "The church has aboliſh-"ed circumciſion and the ſabbath, which were in-"ſtituted by God himſelf." In the two years 1562 and 63, during which time this council held its ſecond ſeſſions, there were almoſt continual diſputes between the ſeveral ambaſſadors about precedence. Thoſe of Bavaria wanted to rank before thoſe of Venice; but, after a long conteſt, they gave up the point.

The ambaſſadors of the catholic Swiſs cantons claim precedence of thoſe of the duke of Florence, and obtain it. One of the Swiſs deputies, named Melcheor Laci, offers to defend the council with his ſword; and to ſerve the enemies of the church as his countrymen ſerved the curate Zuinglius and his adherents, whom they murdered and burnt for the good old cauſe.

But

But the greateſt diſpute was between the French and Spaniſh ambaſſadors. The count de Luna, ambaſſador from Philip II of Spain, inſiſts upon being incenſed * when at maſs, and to kiſs the cup †, before Ferrier the French ambaſſador. Not being able to obtain this diſtinction, he agrees to admit that two incenſe pots and two cups be uſed at the ſame time; but Ferrier ſtill continues inflexible. The two ambaſſadors threaten each other, the ſervice is interrupted, and the church is filled with tumult and uproar. At length this difference is compromiſed, by omitting both ceremonies of incenſing and kiſſing the cup.

New difficulties ariſe to retard the theological debates. The ambaſſadors of the emperor Ferdinand, ſucceſſor to Charles V. will have this aſſembly to be a new council, and not a continuation of the former. The legates adopt the mean between the two parties, and ſay, "We continue the council by calling it, and "we call it by continuing it."

The grand queſtion concerning the reſidence of biſhops and their inſtitution by divine right, is renewed with more warmth than before. The Spaniſh biſhops, ſtrengthened by the arrival of a number of prelates from France, maintain their pretenſions. It was on this occaſion that ſome of them complained, that the holy ghoſt was always ſent from Rome in the courier's mail; a famous witticiſm, of which the proteſtants have not failed to make the moſt advantage.

Pius IV. incenſed at the obſtinacy of the biſhops, declares theſe barbarians to be enemies of the holy ſee, and that he muſt have recourſe to a million of gold crowns. The Spaniſh biſhops complain bitterly, that their Italian brethren have betrayed the intereſts of the

* It is a cuſtom in the Roman catholic churches, to throw the pot which contains the burning frankincenſe, uſed at the celebration of maſs, towards perſons of condition, that the ſmoke may come upon them.

† Another ceremony, uſed in like manner to perſons of diſtinction, who have the chalice or cup with the conſecrated wine, preſented to them to kiſs, the laity not being permitted to partake of the wine in communicating.

prelacy,

prelacy, and that they receive ſixty gold crowns a month each from the pope. The greateſt part of the Italian biſhops were poor, and the ſee of Rome being richer than all the biſhops of the council put together, might aſſiſt them without any breach of decency; but then thoſe, who receive favours, are very apt to be of the ſame opinion with the perſon from whom they receive them.

This ſame pope, Pius IV. offers Catharine de Medicis, queen regent of France, an hundred thouſand gold crowns, and to lend her an hundred thouſand more, and a body of Swiſs and German troops of the catholic religion, if ſhe will drive all the Huegonots out of France, confine Monluc, biſhop of Valence, who is ſuſpected of favouring them, a priſoner in the Baſtile, together with the marſhal de l'Hopital, who lay under the ſame ſuſpicion, and who was the greateſt man in France, if that title is due to one in whom genius, learning, and probity were united. His holineſs moreover demands the abolition of all the laws made by the French parliaments relative to the church; and in theſe hopes advances 25,000 crowns. The abject acceptance of this charity of 25,000 crowns, ſhews into what an abyſs of wretchedneſs the French government was at that time ſunk.

But it was ſtill more infamous, that the cardinal of Lorraine, who at length came to the council, accompanied by ſome French biſhops, ſhould begin by complaining, that the pope had given the king his maſter no greater a ſum than 25,000 crowns. It was at this time that Ferrier, the French ambaſſador, in this ſpeech to the council, compared Charles IX. then an infant, to the emperor Conſtantine: a compariſon which every ambaſſador did not fail to apply to his own ſovereign. In the firſt place, this compariſon ſuited none of them. In the next, Conſtantine never received 25,000 crowns ſubſidy from any pope: and laſtly, there was ſome little difference between an infant king of a ſmall part of Gaul, whoſe mother held the reins of government, and an emperor, who was ſovereign of both empires of the eaſt and weſt.

Ferdinand's

Ferdinand's ambaſſadors complained with great warmth againſt the pope, for having promiſed money to France, and moved, that the council might make a reformation in the pope and his court; and that there ſhould not be more than twenty-four cardinals at moſt, agreeable to the decree of the council of Baſil; never conſidering, that by retrenching their numbers they increaſed their power. Ferdinand I. likewiſe demanded, that all nations might be allowed to pray in their mother-tongue; that the laity might partake of the cup; and that the German princes might remain in poſſeſſion of the church revenues, which they had gotten into their hands.

Propoſals of this kind were generally ſtarted when there was any difference with the ſee of Rome, and as generally dropt again when matters were accommodated.

The diſpute about the cup continued a long time. Several of the divines aſſerted, that the cup was not neceſſary to communion; that the manna in the deſert, which was a type of the euchariſt, was eaten without drinking; that Jonathan did not drink when he eat his honey; that Chriſt, when he gave the bread to the apoſtles, gave it them as laymen, and that he made them prieſts by giving them the wine. This queſtion was decided before the arrival of the cardinal of Lorraine; but afterwards it was left to the pope to grant or refuſe the cup to laymen, as he ſhould judge proper.

The ſubject of the divine right was again renewed, and divided the council. It was on this occaſion that the Jeſuit Luïnes, who ſucceeded Ignatius Loyola as general of the order, and who was one of the pope's theologians at the council, ſaid, "that no other church "could reform that of Rome, inaſmuch as the ſervant "could not be above his maſter."

The Italian biſhops joined in his opinion, and admitted of no divine right but in the pope. The French biſhops, who came with the cardinal of Lorraine, joined the Spaniards againſt the court of Rome; which made the Italians ſay, that the council was fallen from the Spaniſh

Spaniſh itch into the French diſeaſe, *della rogna Spagnuola nel mal Franceſe.*

Recourſe was now had to negotiating, caballing, and bribing. The legates gained over as many of the foreign theologians as they could. There was in particular one Hugonis, a doctor of the Sorbonne, who ſerved them as a ſpy, and who is poſitively ſaid to have received fifty gold crowns of the biſhop of Vintimiglia for betraying to him the ſecrets of the cardinal of Lorraine.

The French court was at that time ſo exhauſted, by her religious and political diſputes, that ſhe had not money enough to pay the theologians ſhe had ſent to the council, who therefore, all of them, returned home, excepting only this Hugonis, who was in the pay of the legates. Nine French biſhops had already quitted the council, ſo that now there remained only eight.

And now the religious diſputes in France ſtained that kingdom with blood, in the ſame manner as they had done Germany in the reign of Charles V. The pope incenſed at a temporary peace which had been made with the proteſtants, in the month of March of this year 1563, cauſed the cardinal de Chatillon, biſhop of Beauvais, an avowed Hugonot, to be condemned by the Inquiſition at Rome; including in the ſame ſentence ten other biſhops of France, none of whom we find to have appealed to the council. Some of them contented themſelves with appealing to the parliament. On the whole, we do not find, that any one ſeſſions of this council oppoſed this act of authority in the pope.

The fathers take this opportunity to draw up a decree againſt all thoſe princes, who wanted to exerciſe a civil power over eccleſiaſtics, and oblige them to pay ſubſidies. All the ambaſſadors, in general, oppoſed this decree, and it did not paſs. The diſpute grew warm on all ſides. In the midſt of the tumult, the French ambaſſador, Ferrier, cries out, "Let us not in "this place cry out with the devils at the approach of "Jeſus Chriſt, Lord ſend us into the herd of ſwine." It is not very clear what affinity there could be between the herd of ſwine and this diſpute.

After

After ſuch a variety of altercations, which, though warm in their beginnings, were always quieted by the prudence of the legates, it was now moved to put an end to the council.

In the 24th ſeſſion, the council declared the marriage tie to be perpetual from Adam, and that it is become a ſacrament from the time of Chriſt; that it cannot be diſſolved even by adultery, and that nothing can make it void, but conſanguinity within the fourth degree, or a diſpenſation from the pope. The proteſtants, on the other hand, were of opinion, that a man may marry his couſin, and may put away his wife, if found guilty of adultery, and marry another.

In this ſeſſion alſo, the council declares, that, in criminal caſes, biſhops can be tried only by the pope; and that it is in his breaſt alone, in caſes of neceſſity, to commiſſion other biſhops to try them. This law, however, is admitted in very few courts of juſtice, eſpecially thoſe of France.

In the laſt ſeſſion they pronounce an anathema againſt all thoſe who reject the invocation of ſaints, pretending that we are to pray to God alone; that is, who do not think God like thoſe weak and frail princes of the earth, who are not to be approached but through their courtiers or miniſters.

Anathema is likewiſe pronounced againſt thoſe who do not worſhip relics; that is, who think that the bones of a dead carcaſe have no ſort of relation to the ſpirit which animated the living body, and that theſe bones have no virtue of their own. Such are alſo anathematized who deny the doctrine of purgatory, an ancient dogma of the Egyptians, Greeks, and Romans, which has been adopted and ſanctified by the church, and thought by ſome to be more ſuitable to the juſtice and clemency of a God who remembers mercy in the midſt of his judgments, than the belief of an eternal ſtate of torments, which ſeems to make him a God of implacable vengeance.

In theſe anathemas no mention is made either of thoſe of the confeſſion of Augſbourg, nor of thoſe of the

communion of Zuinglius and Calvin, nor thoſe of the church of England.

This ſame ſeſſion allows monks to make vows at ſixteen years of age, and nuns at twelve; a permiſſion which is juſtly conſidered as highly prejudicial to the well-being of ſtates, but without which the monaſtic orders would have very ſoon become extinct.

They aſſert the validity of indulgences, which was the firſt ſource of thoſe quarrels which occaſioned the calling of this council; but they prohibit the ſale of them. Nevertheleſs, they continue ſtill to be ſold at Rome; but it muſt be confeſſed they are ſold very cheap, and you may have them at ſecond hand, in ſome of the petty Roman catholic Swiſs cantons, for four ſols apiece. The chief market for them is in the Spaniſh Weſt Indies, where the people are richer and more ignorant than in theſe petty cantons.

At length they finiſhed, by recommending to the biſhops never to yield precedency to the miniſters of crowned heads, nor to lords.

The council is ſubſcribed by four legates, eleven cardinals, twenty-five archbiſhops, one hundred and ſixty-eight biſhops, ſeven abbots, thirty-nine proxies of abſent biſhops, and ſeven generals of religious orders.

They did not make uſe of the form, "It hath "ſeemed good to the Holy Ghoſt and to us," but "it "hath ſeemed good to us in preſence of the Holy "Ghoſt."

The cardinal of Lorraine revived the ancient acclamations of the firſt Greek councils, crying out, "Long "live the pope, the emperor and all kings," which was repeated by the fathers. The cardinal was greatly blamed in France for not mentioning the king, his maſter, by name; and from that time it plainly appeared, how much the cardinal was in fear of offending Philip II. of Spain, who was the great ſupport of the Leaguers.

Thus finiſhed this council, which (including its interruptions) had ſat twenty-one years. The theologians, who had no voices in the deliberations, explained the ſeveral dogmas; the prelates pronounced the decrees or concluſions,

concluſions, and the pope's legates directed them, appeaſed all murmurs, ſoftened all animoſities, eluded whatever could hurt the court of Rome, and, in fine, directed and controlled all the proceedings.

Death of HENRY III.

Vol. IV. ch. 143, page 111. THE name of Herod, which was given to Henry III. was not from any reſemblance between him and that petty prince of Paleſtine; but only becauſe the common people having heard, that Herod had cauſed all the young children in his country to be put to death, they therefore thought this a proper appellation for Henry, whom they looked upon as a tyrant; while they conſidered his murderer, Clement, as a ſaint and a martyr.

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In almoſt every catholic country (Venice excepted) the crime committed by James Clement was looked upon as a moſt meritorious act. The Jeſuit Mariana, who paſſes for a wiſe and grave hiſtorian, expreſſes himſelf thus in his book *Of the Inſtitution of Laws.* "James Clement raiſed to himſelf a great name; here "murder was atoned by murder, and the king's blood "was ſhed as a ſacrifice to the manes of the duke of "Guiſe, who had been aſſaſſinated by his orders.— "Thus died James Clement, at the age of 24, a man "who will for ever be the glory of France." The French carried their enthuſiaſtic folly ſo far, as to cauſe the picture of this murderer to be placed on the altars, with theſe words underneath, "St. James Clement, "pray for us."

The true form of the ſentence, paſſed upon the dead body of this aſſaſſin, was for a long time unknown. He was proſecuted by the marquis de Richelieu, grand provoſt of France, and father to the cardinal of that name; and the attorney-general La Guéle, who was preſent when the murder was committed, and who had himſelf introduced friar Clement to the deceaſed king, did

not appear in the character of his office on this trial but only as a perſon who came there to give evidence in common with others. It was Henry IV. who pronounced the ſentence himſelf, by which the body of the monk was ordered to be quartered and burnt; the ſentence was paſſed with the advice of his council, and ſigned *Ruſé*.

Another circumſtance, which has not been known hitherto, is, that another Jacobine monk named *Jean le Roy*, having murdered the commandant of Courance in Normandy, Henry IV. tried this miſcreant the ſame day that he tried the regicide Clement; and ſentenced Jean le Roy to be ſewed up in a ſack, and thrown into the river; which ſentence was executed upon him at St. Cloud, two days after. Both the ſentence and the puniſhment were very uncommon; but the crimes which occaſioned them were ſtill more horrible.

Of HENRY IV.

Vol. IV. ch. 144, page 143. WHAT does Bayle mean by beginning his article of Henry IV. with ſaying, "that if he had "been made an eunuch when he was young, he might "have eclipſed the glory of Alexander and of Cæſar?" Does he pretend by that to inſinuate, that to be a great man one muſt be only half a man? or was he ignorant how many great leaders have joined love with war? Charles XII. was the only one of all thoſe who have gained themſelves fame by their arms, who abſolutely renounced all connections with the fair ſex; and he met with more ill fortune than ſucceſs. Not that I have any inclination, in a work of this ſerious kind, to flatter the idle gallantry, which has long been the reproach of the French nation. I only mean to enforce this great truth, that nature, who gives us all our qualifications, does almoſt always deny ſtrength and courage to thoſe, who have been deprived of the enſigns of manhood, or, at leaſt, who have them imperfectly formed. Nature is the ſame through all the creation: it

it is not the ox, but the bull, who fights. The powers both of body and mind depend upon this ſource of exiſtence. We find only one general, Narſes, who was an eunuch, and only two learned men Origen and Photius. Henry IV. was frequently in love, and ſometimes fooliſhly ſo; but he was never effeminate. The fair Gabrielle calls him, in her letters, "My ſoldier." This appellation alone is ſufficient to refute Bayle.

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Id. page 145.] The Jeſuit Jouvency acknowledges in his hiſtory, that Nigri, ſuperior of the novices of that order in Paris, aſſembled all of them that were in France, and led them to meet the pope's army at Verdun, into which he incorporated them; and that this army marked its progreſs through the kingdom by the moſt terrible devaſtations. This circumſtance ſufficiently ſhews the ſpirit of thoſe times.

The monks might then indeed, with ſome reaſon, ſay in their writings, that the pope had a right to depoſe kings, ſince he was on the point of eſtabliſhing that right by the ſword.

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Id. page 148.] You will remark, that the parliament wanted to ſit in the general aſſembly of the ſtates by deputation or proxy, and that they could not obtain it. You will remark alſo, that this very parliament had juſt before ordered an arret of the king's parliament (held at Chalons) againſt the pope's legate, and his pretended power of preſiding at the election of a king of France, to be burnt by the hands of the common hangman.

Much about the ſame time, ſeveral of the citizens having preſented a petition to the city and parliament, deſiring that the king might at leaſt be preſſed to embrace the Roman Catholic religion, before they proceeded to the election; the Sorbonne declare this petition "unfit, ſeditious, impious, and idle, inaſmuch as they "well know the obſtinacy of Henry the apoſtate," at the ſame time excommunicating the authors of the petition, and baniſhing them out of the city. This decree, which was written in very bad Latin, and was certainly the production of weak and ſuperſtitious

minds, is dated the first of November, 1592. It was afterwards revoked, when of very little signification whether it was or not; but had not Henry IV. enjoyed the crown, it would have continued in force, and Philip II. would have been loaded with the appellations of protector of France, and of the church.

While Henry's adversaries were employing the sword and the pen, politics and superstition against him, and during the sitting of the assembly of the states, which was as tumultuous and divided as it was irregular; Henry was at the gates of Paris, and threatened to reduce it.

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Henry IV. had about his person a private envoy from queen Elizabeth, who, in a letter, he wrote to his royal mistress, concerning the kings changing his religion, has these very words:

"The following is the manner in which the king "excuses himself, on account of his change of religion, "and the very words in which he expressed himself to "me."*

"When I came to the crown, 800 gentlemen and "nine regiments left my service, on pretence that I was "an heretic; the leaguers immediately set about choos- "ing another king, and the most powerful of them of- "fered their services to the duke of Guise, whereupon "I determined, after mature diliberation, to embrace "the Romish religion, and by that step I have entirely "won over the third party, have prevented the election "of the duke of Guise, and have gained the good-will "of the people of France. I have had the promise of "the duke of Florence, in regard to some matters of "great importance, and have finally prevented the re- "formed religion from being entirely rooted out."

† Henry sent the sieur Morland, his ambassador, to the queen of England, to inform her of what had passed, and to make his excuses to her as well as he

* Taken from the third book of Beze's MSS. No. 8.
† Idem.

could.

could. Morland tells us, that Elizabeth made him this reply, "Is it poſſible then, that any worldly conſideration "can have made the king, your maſter, lay aſide the "fear of God!" When we hear the murderess of Mary Stuart talking of the fear of God, we cannot help thinking the character of a hypocrite, which has been given her by moſt hiſtorians, to be too true; but when we hear the brave and generous Henry declaring, that he had changed his religion, merely for the good of his country, which ought to be the governing principle with all crowned heads, we cannot doubt that he ſpoke from his heart. How then can the jeſuit Daniel offer ſo glaring an inſult to truth, and to the underſtanding of his readers, as to aſſert, even againſt all probability, a cloud of witneſſes, and the principles of the human mind, that Henry IV. had been long a catholic in his heart? Once more I muſt repeat it, that the count de Boulainvilliers was perfectly in the right, when he aſſerted, that no jeſuit could be a faithful hiſtorian.

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The ambaſſadors of Philip II. left Paris the very day that Henry made his entry into that city, without having the leaſt violence offered to their perſons; only the king, as he ſaw them paſſing by a window, where he was ſtanding, called out to them, "Gentlemen, pray give my compliments to your maſter, but I deſire never to ſee you here again."

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Several politicians have pretended, that when Henry IV. had gotten the maſtery, he ought to have imitated queen Elizabeth, and have entirely ſeparated his nation from the Romiſh communion. They furthermore ſay, that the balance of Europe inclined too much in favour of Philip II. of Spain, and the catholics, and that to have kept this balance equal, he ought to have made the French proteſtants, as the only means of rendering them a numerous, rich, and powerful people.

But Henry IV. was not in the ſame ſituation as Elizabeth; he had not a well diſciplined army at command, nor the parliament of the nation in his intereſts. He was moreover in want of money; he had but few

troops to withſtand Philip II. who was always ready to attack him, and the leaguers were ſtill powerful and in high ſpirits.

Id. pag. 157.] It was a thing highly worthy of admiration, that Henry IV. notwithſtanding the exhauſted and deſolated ſtate, in which he found the kingdom, ſhould, in leſs than fifteen years time, have been able to eaſe the burthen of the taille, by near four millions of the currency of his time, which would make ten of ours; to leſſen the other duties one half, and to pay off an hundred millions of the crown debts, which would make two hundred millions of the preſent money. He redeemed lands, which are now alienated, to the amount of more than an hundred millions; all the ſtrong places were fortified, the magazines and arſenals well filled, and the highways repaired; all which is to the immortal glory of the duke of Sully, and of his royal maſter, who had the happy boldneſs to make choice of a ſoldier to repair the diſorders in the public finances; and who did not diſdain to labour in concert with the miniſter of his choice.

Id. pag. 164.] About the time that Henry IV. was murdered, there was publiſhed an apology for John Châtel, in which it is ſaid, "that the attempt was a "virtuous, heroic, and meritorious act; and worthy "to be compared to the nobleſt deeds recorded in ſacred "or profane hiſtory. There is but one thing can be "found fault with, adds the apologiſt, which is, that "Châtel did not complete what he had began, by ſending "the apoſtate to his proper place with Judas."

This apology clearly ſhews the reaſon, why Guignard could never be brought to aſk forgiveneſs of the king, was, that he did not look upon him as king. "The "conſtancy of this holy man," ſays the author of the apology, "would never ſuffer him to acknowledge "one, whom the church did not acknowledge; and al-"though the judges condemned his body to be burnt, "and his aſhes ſcattered in the air, yet will his blood "never ceaſe to cry out againſt his murderers, before "the

" the throne of the God of Hosts, who will not fail " to repay their wickedness seven-fold, upon their " heads."

Such was the spirit of the league and of the priests in those days; and such the terrible abuse made of religion, which was so ill understood; an abuse which has continued even to the present time.

It is not long since a Jesuit, named La Croix, who was professor of divinity in Cologne, reprinted, with notes, a book of one of the ancient jesuits, called Besembaum, which would have remained as much unknown as the author and his commentator, if they had unhappily served to revive the detestable doctrine of murder and regicide.

It is said in this work, that any person, outlawed by a prince, cannot be lawfully put to death any where, but in the dominions of such prince; but that a crowned head, excommunicated by the pope, may be murdered wherever he is found, inasmuch as the pope is sovereign lord of the universe; and that any one having orders to slay an excommunicated person, be whom he will, may delegate his charge to another, and that it is an act of charity to accept of such charge.

It is true, that the parliaments of France condemned this abominable book; and the Jesuits of that kingdom probably declared their abhorrence of the doctrine it contained; but, on the other hand, a new edition of this book, which has lately appeared with additions, sufficiently shews, that these infernal tenets have been long ingrafted in a number of minds; that they have been looked upon as points of our holy religion; and that consequently the laws cannot exert themselves with too much rigour against the teachers and abettors of this vile doctrine of king-killing.

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Id. page 166, &c.] Every one knows that Ravaillac was a novice, in an order of begging friars of St. Bernard, who were still infatuated with the fanatic spirit of the leaguers, and that this infamous miscreant was abandoned to superstition, and all manner of vice.

Counſellor Matthew, hiſtoriographer of France, who held a long converſation with him in his little Hotel de Retz, near the Louvre, tells us, that this wretch had been for ſeveral years under a ſtrong temptation to murder the king. A counſellor of the parliament, aſking him in the ſame hotel, and in the preſence of Matthew, how he dared to lift his hand againſt the moſt chriſtian king? "It is firſt to be known, replied he, if he is moſt "chriſtian."

The irreſiſtible force of deſtiny ſhews itſelf more plainly in this event, than in almoſt any other we read of. A country ſchool-maſter, without forming a conſpiracy, without having an accomplice, being the leaſt intereſted in what he did, kills Henry, in the midſt of his ſubjects, and changes the face of affairs in Europe.

The whole of the proceedings againſt him, which were printed in 1611, ſhews that this man had, in fact, no other accomplices than the ſermons of the preachers of thoſe times, and the diſcourſes of the monks. He was a great bigot, much given to mental and extempore prayer, and pretended at times to have viſions from heaven. He confeſſed, that after leaving the Feuillants he had frequently a deſire to take the Jeſuits habit. He likewiſe confeſſed, that his firſt deſign was only to have perſuaded the king to baniſh the reformed religion out of France; and that once, in the Chriſtmas-holy-days, ſeeing the king paſs in his coach, thro' the ſame ſtreet, where he afterwards murdered him, he cried out, as loud as he was able, "Sire, in the "name of our Lord Jeſus Chriſt, and the moſt holy "Virgin Mary, I conjure you to let me ſpeak to you;" but that the guards puſhed him away from the coach; that then he returned back to Angouleſme, his birth-place, where he kept a ſchool, and had eighty ſcholars, and that, during his ſtay there, he frequently went to confeſſion, and took the ſacrament: and it appeared, from many proofs, that he conceived his helliſh deſign in the midſt of the moſt fanatic acts of devotion. His anſwer to the ſecond interrogatory, in his examination, were in theſe words, "No one whatever, either coun-

"ſelled

" ſelled or aſſiſted him in the perpetrating this deed; " only that hearing the ſoldiers in general, talking " amongſt themſelves, that if the king was to make " war againſt the pope, they would aſſiſt him, and lay " down their lives for his cauſe; that therefore, and " for that reaſon, he ſuffered himſelf to be led away by " the ſtrong deſire he felt to kill the king, becauſe, in " his opinion, the making war againſt the pope, is mak- " ing war upon God, inaſmuch, as the pope is God, " and God is the pope." Thus we find every thing concur, to prove to us, that Henry IV. was in fact the victim of an horrible prejudice, which had, for a long time, blinded the underſtandings of mankind, and ſpread deſolation over the face of the earth.

It has been confidently aſſerted, that Henry's approaching death was talked of in the Low Countries long before the fatal blow was given. It is not at all aſtoniſhing, that the partizans of the catholic league, ſeeing the formidable army he was on the point of leading into the field, might ſay, that nothing but the death of Henry could ſave them. They and the reſt of the leaguers undoubtedly wiſhed for a ſecond John Châtel to ariſe; we eaſily paſs from deſire to hope, this hope will break forth in expreſſions, and theſe are wafted abroad; ſomething of this kind had reached the ears of Ravaillac, and determined him to put his bloody purpoſe in execution.

It is certain likewiſe, that it had been told to Henry that he ſhould die in his coach. This notion aroſe from the great dread this prince, otherwiſe ſo intrepid, was always under of being overturned, when in any wheel-carriage. This natural weakneſs was looked upon by aſtrologers, as a foreboding, an omen; and this notion of theirs, formed at random, was verified by the moſt improbable of all events.

On the cardinal de RICHELIEU's obtaining a diſpenſation from the POPE, to paſs ſentence of death upon MARILLAC.

Vol. IV, chap. cxlvi. page 312.] THUS does a prieſt ſpill the blood of a fellow-ſubject by the ſword of juſtice, which ſword he receives in France, from the hand of another prieſt, who lives at the further extremity of Italy.

Adminiſtration of Cardinal de RICHELIEU.

On the Marriage of GASTON, brother of LEWIS XIII. with MARGARET of Lorraine.

Id. page 220.] THE king inſiſted that his brother's marriage with Margaret of Lorraine ſhould be annulled. Gaſton had only a daughter by his firſt wife, the heireſs of Montpenſier. Now if the heir preſumptive of the crown perſiſted in his ſecond marriage, and a ſon ſhould be born of it, the king wanted to have this ſon declared a baſtard, and incapable of inheriting the crown.

This was an abſolute violation of all religion, laws, and cuſtoms; but as religion can only be inſtituted for the good of a ſtate, it is certain, that when its cuſtoms are hurtful or dangerous, they ought to be aboliſhed.

On the Creation of Twenty-four new Counſellors of Parliament.

Id. page 226. IT is a matter, not very worthy of attention, that there ſhould be only twenty perſons found to purchaſe theſe judges ſeats; but what will ſerve to ſhew us the ſpirit of mankind, and eſpecially of Frenchmen, is, that theſe new created members were a long time deſpiſed and hated by the whole body; that, in the war of the league, they were obliged to pay

15000

15000 livres each, to obtain the good graces of their brethren, by contributions to a war againſt the government; that (as we ſhall ſee hereafter) this got them the nick-name of the *Quinze-vingt*, or the twenty-fifteens. Laſtly, that when an attempt was latey made to lay aſide theſe uſeleſs members, the parliament, who cried out againſt their being firſt introduced, as mere ſupernumeraries, exclaimed as loudly againſt their being ſuppreſſed. Thus are the ſame things well or ill received, according to the ſpirit of the times, and the remedy is frequently as much complained of as the diſeaſe.

On the Jeſuit CAUSSIN, the KING's Confeſſor.

Id. page 227. THIS ſame Jeſuit adviſed Lewis XIII. to put the kingdom under the protection of the Virgin Mary, in order to ſanctify the king's amours with mademoiſelle de la Fayette, which was looked upon only as an union of minds, in which the ſenſes have very little ſhare. The good father's advice was followed, and cardinal Richelieu put this project in practice the following year, while Cauſſin celebrated in wretched doggrel at Quimpercorentin, the particular regard the Virgin had for the kingdom of France. The houſe of Auſtria happened to have the Virgin for its patroneſs likewiſe, ſo that our holy lady muſt have been extremely put to it which of them to have ſerved, had it not been that the Swedes and the duke of Weimar were proteſtants.

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Ibid.] Obſerve, that you will never meet with any great troubles in hiſtory, not any intrigues of council, without the confeſſors of kings having an hand in them, which often ends in their own diſgrace. For inſtance, a prince has the weakneſs to conſult his confeſſor on ſtate-affairs, (and by the bye this is one of the greateſt inconveniences attending auricular confeſſion.) The confeſſor,

confeſſor, who is almoſt always of ſome one party, endeavours to make his royal penitent conſider the views of this party as the will of God. The miniſter ſoon comes to the knowledge of theſe artifices, upon which the confeſſor is diſgraced, and another is taken in his place, who practices the very ſame.

At the end of the Chapter of the Adminiſtration of Cardinal RICHELIEU.

Id. page 234. WHEN it came to be perceived how full the pretended teſtament of cardinal Richelieu was of errors, in chronology and topography, falſe computations, and the moſt abſurd and ignorant aſſertions, ſuch, as for inſtance, that France had a greater number of ports in the Mediterranean than Spain, and chiefly, that in all this ſpurious work there was not the leaſt mention made of the manner in which it was proper to carry on the war, in which the French monarchy was then engaged; this famous production became as much deſpiſed as it was before admired.

Of SPAIN, under PHILIP IV.

Vol. IV. ch. 147. page 235. SPAIN has ſuffered ſo great a depopulation, that Don Uſtaris, a famous ſtateſman, who wrote in the year 1723, for the good of his country, reckons the number of inhabitants, at that time, not to amount to more than ſeven millions, or about a third of what are in France; and while he laments the great decreaſe of uſeful ſubjects in that ſtate, he at the ſame time complains, that the number of monks in the kingdom had almoſt always continued the ſame. He alſo confeſſes, that the revenues of the maſters of the mines of Mexico and Peru, did not amount to eighty millions of livres of the preſent money *.

* About three millions and a half ſterling.

At

At the End of the CHAPTER relating to PHILIP IV.

Id. p. 250. AFTER the death of Philip IV. which happened in the year 1666, Spain was very unfortunate. Mary of Auſtria, widow to the deceaſed king, and ſiſter to the emperor Leopold, was regent during the minority of Don Carlos, or Charles, the ſecond of that name, his ſon. Her regency was not ſo diſtracted, as that of Anne of Auſtria in France; but they had this melancholy conformity with each other, that the queen of Spain drew upon her the hatred of the whole nation, by giving the adminiſtration into the hands of a foreign prieſt, as the queen of France made all her people her enemies, by ſubjecting them to the yoke of an Italian cardinal; the principal grandees oppoſe the miniſters in both ſtates, and the interior government was equally ill conducted in one and the other.

The prime miniſter, who governed the Spaniſh nation for ſome time, during the minority of Charles II. was the Jeſuit Evrard Nitard, a German, confeſſor to the queen, and grand inquiſitor of the kingdom. The incompatibility which religion ſeems to have placed between the monaſtic vow, and miniſterial intrigues, ſoon raiſed a general murmur againſt this Jeſuit.

The character of Nitard did not a little add to the public indignation againſt him. Though he was very capable of ruling over the mind of his penitent, he was by no means fit to hold the reins of government in a ſtate, having nothing of the miniſter or the prieſt, but pride and ambition, even without the neceſſary covering of diſſimulation. He one day had the inſolence to ſay to the duke of Lerma, "It is you who owe reſpect to "me, who have every day your god in my hands, and "your queen at my feet." With this pride, ſo oppoſite to true greatneſs, he ſuffered the treaſury to be left bare of money, all the ſtrong places in the kingdom to fall to ruin, the ports to be left without ſhipping, and

and the forces without diſcipline, and without any leaders capable of commanding them; this negligence of his, more eſpecially, contributed to the firſt advantages which Lewis XIV. gained over his brother-in-law and mother-in-law, when he attacked them in 1667, and took from them one half of Flanders, and all the Franche-Comté.

A party was formed againſt the Jeſuit-miniſter, as in France againſt cardinal Mazarine; and Nitard found in Don John of Auſtria, natural ſon of Philip IV. as implacable an enemy as the Great Condé was to the cardinal. Condé was impriſoned, Don John was baniſhed. Theſe diſputes gave riſe to two factions that divided the Spaniſh nation, but without a civil war, which, however, was juſt on the point of breaking out, when the queen prevented it by baniſhing father Nitard (though much againſt her will) as queen Anne of Auſtria was obliged to turn off Mazarine. But this latter returned more powerful than ever; whereas father Nitard, whoſe diſmiſſion happened in 1667, could never again get footing in Spain. The reaſon was, that the queen regent had taken another confeſſor in his room, who oppoſed the return of his predeceſſor; whereas the queen of France had no miniſter near her to ſupply the place of Mazarine.

Nitard went to Rome, where he in vain ſolicited a cardinal's hat, which is ſeldom beſtowed on diſgraced miniſters, and was obliged to live a retired life very little countenanced by his brethren, who indeed are ſeldom fond of a perſon who has raiſed himſelf above their level. But at length, by his own aſſiduity, and the good offices of the queen of Spain, he obtained this hat, which is ſo much the darling object of all churchmen; and now his brother Jeſuits were by the ears who ſhould firſt pay their court to him.

The reign of Charles II. of Spain was as weak as that of Philip III. and IV. as you will ſee in the age of Lewis XIV.

Of

Of the Misfortunes of CHARLES I. and of the IRISH MASSACRE.

Vol. IV. ch. 150. THIS maſſacre has not the ſame degree of celebrity in the hiſtory of great crimes as that of St. Bartholomew, though it was as general, and accompanied with all the horrors and barbarities that could diſtinguiſh ſuch a ſally of enthuſiaſtic fury. But this conſpiracy of one half of a nation againſt the other, on account of religion, paſſed in an iſland at that time little known by other nations, and had not the authority of ſuch illuſtrious accomplices as a queen regent, a king of France, and a duke of Guiſe; the victims of this brutal zeal, though equal in number, were not of ſuch conſideration as thoſe in France, and although the ſcene was to the full as bloody, yet the theatre of action did not fix the attention of Europe. The whole world ſtill rings with the horrors of St. Bartholomew's day, while the Iriſh maſſacre is in a manner forgot.

If we were to reckon the murders, which have been committed by enthuſiaſm, ſince the days of St. Athanaſius and of Arius, to the preſent time, we ſhould find, that thoſe diputes have contributed more to the depopulation of the earth, than all the battles that have been fought; for, in theſe, the male ſpecies only is deſtroyed, which is always more numerous than the female: but in the maſſacres perpetrated for religion's ſake, both ſexes are indiſcriminately made the victims.

Reflections on the Declaration of CHARLES I. concerning Religion.

THUS are princes in religious matters more under ſubjection to their people, than the people to them. When once, what we call dogma, or an opinion, has got root in a nation, the ſovereign muſt declare, that he is ready to die in the defence of that opinion. It is much eaſier to make ſuch a ſpeech, than to perſuade a headſtrong populace.

Of

Of the numberleſs diſſentions, which have at different times threatened the ſubverſion of the Engliſh government, before it acquired the happy and ſettled form in which we now ſee it, the troubles of thoſe times preceding the death of Charles I. were the only ones, in which exceſs of folly and exceſs of madneſs were joined together, and that ridiculous ſuperſtition, with which the reformed ſect had reproached thoſe of the Romiſh communion, might now be retorted upon the puritans. The biſhops behaved like mean-ſpirited cowards; they ought to have died in defence of a cauſe which they thought juſt: but the behaviour of the preſbyterians was that of madmen; their dreſs, their way of diſcourſing, their low alluſions to paſſages of Scripture, their ridiculous geſtures, their ſermons, their pretended prophecies; in ſhort, the whole of their manners, might in peaceable times have ſerved to divert the mob at a fair, had they not been rather too diſguſting. But, unhappily, theſe fanatics joined fury to abſurdity; and thoſe whom children now a-days would laugh to ſcorn, by wading through rivers of blood, made themſelves reſpected and dreaded; and were at once the moſt ridiculous and the moſt formidable of men.

Of OLIVER CROMWEL.

Vol. IV. ch. 151. THE marquis of Montroſe was ſentenced to be hanged on a gibbet thirty feet high, to be afterwards quartered, and his members fixed upon the gates of the four principal towns in Scotland, for having offended againſt the *New Law* or *Covenant*, as it was called. This brave nobleman, upon hearing his ſentence pronounced to him by the judge, made anſwer, that he was ſorry he had not quarters enough to be ſent to the gates of every town in Europe, as monuments of his fidelity to his prince. He even put this ſentiment into tolerable verſe as he was going to the place of execution. He was a perſon of the moſt agreeable wit, and the moſt learning,

learning, as well as the braveſt man, of any in the three kingdoms. The preſbyterian clergy accompanied him to his execution, reviling and inſulting him, and pronouncing his damnation.

Cromwel placed confidence only in the independants, who could not ſubſiſt but thro' him, and he would laugh at them ſometimes with the deiſts, though he did not look upon deiſm with a favourable eye, as being a religion void of enthuſiaſm, and conſequently fit only for philoſophers, and can never be of ſervice to conquerors.

There were but a few of this philoſophic ſect in the kingdom, and with theſe he would ſometimes divert himſelf, at the expence of the holy madmen, who had cleared the way for him to the throne with the Bible in their hands. By this conduct he preſerved, to his laſt hour, an authority, which had been cemented with blood, and ſupported by force and artifice.

Of ENGLAND, under CHARLES II.

Vol IV. ch. 152. DEISM, which this king ſeemed openly to profeſs, became the reigning religion among the many others then in the kingdom, and has ſince made a ſurpriſing progreſs in other parts of the world. The earl of Shafteſbury, ſon to the miniſter, and one of the chief ſupporters of this ſect, ſays poſitively in his Characteriſtics, that the noble appellation of deiſt cannot be too highly reverenced. A number of eminent writers have made open profeſſion of deiſm; and the major part of the Socinians have ranged themſelves under its ſtandard. This ſect, now become very numerous, is accuſed of admitting only the light of reaſon, and rejecting all revelation. It is not poſſible for a Chriſtian to ſtand up as their advocate; but the ſtrict impartiality, with which we are deſirous to draw this great picture of human life, obliges us, while we condemn their doctrine, to do juſtice to their behaviour. We cannot therefore but acknowledge, that this is the only ſect of all others that has not diſturbed the

the peace of ſociety by its diſputes; and, though erroneous, has been always clear of fanaticiſm. It is indeed impoſſible, that ſuch a ſect ſhould be other than peaceable, ſince its followers are united with all mankind, in the principle common to all ages and all countries; namely, the worſhip of one only God; and differ from other men only in having neither forms nor places of worſhip; in believing only in one juſt God, allowing for the diverſity of opinions in others, and ſeldom diſcovering their own. They ſay, that their pure religion, which is as old as the world, was for a long time the only true one, before God himſelf gave another to the Hebrew nation. They found this notion from its having been always the religion of the Chineſe literati; but theſe literati had a public form of worſhip, whereas the European deiſts have only a private one, every perſon worſhipping God in his own houſe, and aſſiſting without ſcruple at all public ceremonies: at leaſt there has hitherto been but a very inconſiderable number of thoſe called *Unitarians*, who have formed an aſſembly; and theſe may be called primitive Chriſtians rather than deiſts.

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Id. page 8, 9, &c.] Notwithſtanding the great change in minds and affairs in England, the love of liberty and faction did not change among the people, nor that paſſion for abſolute power which prevailed in the king, and his brother the duke of York; ſo that in the midſt of the pleaſures and feſtivities of a court, confuſion, diviſion, and animoſities, between ſects and parties, overſpread the kingdom. There were not indeed any violent civil wars, as in the time of Cromwel; but numberleſs intrigues, plots, and murders, committed under the ſolemn maſk of juſtice, and in virtue of laws, which hatred, or party miſapprehenſion, conſtrued according to their own purpoſe, threw a cloud over a great part of the reign of Charles II. This prince indeed ſeemed, by the amiable mildneſs of his character, formed to render his people as happy as he made every one, who had the honour of approaching him; and yet the blood of the ſubject flowed under the hand of the executioner,

tioner, during this good prince's reign, as well as under thoſe of others. Religion was the ſole cauſe of theſe diſaſters, notwithſtanding that Charles himſelf was perfectly indifferent on that head.

Charles had no children, and his brother, who was heir preſumptive to the crown, had lately turned papiſt, a name which is held in execration by the parliament and kingdom of England in general. As ſoon as it was poſitively known, that the duke had changed his religion, the fear of having one day a papiſt for their king, made a change in almoſt all minds. Some wretches among the dregs of the people, hired by the faction that oppoſed the court, pretended to diſcover a plot, much more extraordinary than that known by the name of gunpowder treaſon. They declared, and ſwore to it, that the papiſts had formed a deſign to murder the king, and place the crown upon his brother's head; that pope Clement X. in a congregation called *de Propagandâ*, held in 1675, had declared, that the kingdom of England belonged to the popes, by an impreſcriptible right; that, in virtue of this right, he had appointed Oliva, general of the Jeſuits order, his lieutenant there; and that this Jeſuit had made over his authority to the duke of York, the pope's vaſſal; that an army was to be raiſed in England, to drive Charles II. from the throne; that Father La Chaiſe, a Jeſuit, and confeſſor to Lewis XIV. had remitted a thouſand louis d'ors to London, to ſet the operations on foot; that Conyers, another Jeſuit, had bought a poniard, which coſt him twenty ſhillings, with which he was to ſtab the king; and that a certain phyſician had been offered ten thouſand pounds to poiſon him. At the ſame time they produced a liſt of the names, and commiſſions, of all the officers who had been nominated by the general of the Jeſuits, to command the army to be raiſed in defence of popery.

Never was accuſation more abſurd. The rabbet woman, or the bottle-conjurer in England, or with us the affair of the Bull Unigenitus, the convulſioniſts, and the charges brought againſt philoſophers and men of learning, were not more ridiculous. But when once

once the minds of men come to be heated, the more prepoſterous an opinion is, the more it is credited.

The whole nation took the alarm. The parliament, in ſpite of all the endeavours of the court, proceeded in the moſt ſevere manner. There was ſome mixture of truth in theſe incredible falſhoods, and that was ſufficient to ſanctify the whole. The informers pretended, that the general Oliva had appointed one Coleman, a dependent on the duke of York, his ſecretary of ſtate in England. This Coleman's papers were ſeized, and ſome letters were found among them, written by him to father La Chaiſe, in which were the following expreſſions; "We have a great undertaking in hand, no leſs than "the converſion of three kingdoms, and perhaps the "total extirpation of hereſy; we have a prince zealous "in our cauſe, &c. . . . . You muſt ſend a large ſum "of money to the king, money is the only prevailing "logic at our court."

It is plain, by theſe letters, that the Catholic party wanted to get the upper hand, that they had great dependence on the duke of York, and that the king himſelf was inclinable to favour the Catholics, provided they would ſupply him handſomely with money; and, laſtly, that the Jeſuits were doing all in their power to ſerve the pope in England. All the reſt was manifeſtly falſe; and the informers contradicted themſelves ſo groſsly in their depoſitions, that at any other time they would have been laughed at by every one.

But Coleman's letters, and the murder of a juſtice of peace *, which happened about that time, made any thing be believed of the papiſts. Several perſons who were accuſed, loſt their lives on the ſcaffold, and five Jeſuits were hanged and quartered. Had theſe men been condemned as diſturbers of the public peace, or for holding illicit correſpondence, and endeavouring to ſubvert the religion by law eſtabliſhed, their ſentence would have been perfectly juſt; but certainly they ought not to have been put to death as captains or chaplains of a popiſh army, which was to have conquered the three

* Sir Edmondbury Godfrey.

kingdoms.

kingdoms. The zeal againſt popery, however, was carried ſo far, that the houſe of commons almoſt unanimouſly paſſed the bill of excluſion againſt the duke of York, by which he was declared for ever incapable of ſucceeding to the crown of England. This unhappy prince, a few years afterwards, did but too well confirm this ſentence of the houſe of commons.

England, all the northern kingdoms, one half of Germany, the ſeven United Provinces, and one fourth of the Swiſs cantons, had hitherto contented themſelves with conſidering the Roman Catholic religion as idolatrous. But this obloquy had not paſſed into a law in any of theſe ſtates. Now, however, the Engliſh parliament tacked the oath of abjuration to that of the reſt, and obliged the people to ſwear to their abhorrence of popery, as an idolatrous religion.

What changes have happened in the human mind! The firſt Chriſtians accuſed the Roman ſenate with paying divine honours to ſtatues, which they certainly did not. The Chriſtian religion continued three hundred years without images; twelve Chriſtian emperors treated thoſe as idolaters who prayed before the pictures or figures of ſaints. This mode of worſhip is afterwards received both by the eaſtern and weſtern churches, and after that held in abhorrence by one half of Europe. At length, Chriſtian Rome, that places its chief glory in the deſtruction of idolatry, is ranked with the heathens, by the laws of a powerful and diſcerning people, who are deſervedly held in high eſteem by all other nations.

The enthuſiaſm of the common people did not ſtop at theſe demonſtrations of horror and averſion to popery; accuſations and puniſhments were ſtill continued.

But the moſt deplorable circumſtance was the execution of lord Stafford, a venerable nobleman, of tried fidelity to his king and country, who had retired from public buſineſs, and was cloſing the career of an honourable life, by the exerciſe of every domeſtic virtue. This good man paſſed for a papiſt, though he was not ſuch. He was accuſed by one of the ſtate informers, of having hired him to murder the king; and though

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it was proved, that he had never ſpoken to the perſon who was his accuſer, yet the wretch was believed. The innocence of lord Stafford availed him nought in the day of trial; he was condemned to loſe his head; and by the ſame ſhameful and wicked weakneſs, which had coſt his father his crown and his life, Charles did not dare to pardon him. This example proves, that the tyranny of public bodies is always more heavy than that of a king. There are a thouſand ways to pacify the reſentment of a ſovereign; there are none to bend the inflexible cruelty of the public, when carried away by prejudice. Each member is filled with the fury that animates the whole, imparts it with redoubled force to his companions, and gives himſelf up without fear to the moſt pitileſs inhumanity, conſcious, that an individual is not anſwerable for the actions of a community.

While the papiſts and the church of England party were exhibiting theſe bloody ſpectacles in London, the preſbyterians in Scotland preſented a ſcene no leſs abſurd, and infinitely more abominable. They murdered the archbiſhop of St. Andrew's, primate of that kingdom, where the epiſcopal government ſtill continued, becauſe this prelate had ſtood up in defence of his prerogatives. After this noble action, the preſbyterians aſſembled the people, and in their ſermons openly compared their ſhocking deed with thoſe of Jael, Ehud, and Judith, recorded in holy writ, and to which indeed it bore a pretty near reſemblance. From the church they led their infatuated auditors, with the ſound of drums and bagpipes, to Glaſgow, of which they made themſelves maſters. After this they took an oath, that they would no longer acknowledge the king as ſupreme head of the church, nor his brother as king after his death; and that they would ſhew obedience to no one but the *Lord*, to whom they would ſacrifice all the biſhops who oppoſed the workings of the ſaints.

The king was now obliged to ſend his natural ſon, the duke of Monmouth, with a ſmall army againſt theſe ſaints. The preſbyterians marched to meet him with eight thouſand men, headed by miniſters of the goſpel.

This

This army ſtiled itſelf *the army of the Lord.* An old miniſter got up on a little hillock, and cauſed his hands to be ſupported, as we read of Aaron, in order to inſure victory to thoſe of his party; notwithſtanding which, the army of the Lord was routed at the very firſt onſet, and twelve hundred of the ſaints taken priſoners, all of whom the duke treated with the greateſt humanity; he hanged only two of the moſt active of their prieſts, and ſet at liberty every one who would take an oath not to make any more diſturbances in the country, in God's name. Nine hundred accepted their liberty on theſe conditions, the remaining three hundred declared that it was better to obey God than man, and that they had rather ſuffer death themſelves, than not be allowed to kill all church of England men and papiſts. Upon this they were tranſported to America: and the ſhip that was carrying them over being caſt away, they all received the crown of martyrdom at the bottom of the ſea.

This ſpirit of folly continued ſome time longer in England, Scotland, and Ireland; but at length the king found means to reſtore the public tranquillity, not ſo much by his prudence perhaps, as by the amiableneſs of his diſpoſition, and that pleaſing affability which won him the hearts of all who approached him, and inſenſibly ſoftened the gloomy ferocity of diſcontented factions, and harmonized the minds of jarring parties.

Of ITALY in the Sixteenth CENTURY.

Vol. V. ch. 153, page 1. POPE Pius IV ſent a body of forces into France, to aſſiſt Charles IX. againſt the Hugonots. Theſe troops were at the battle of Moncontour. To ſo low an ebb was the French government at that time fallen, that 2000 of the pope's ſoldiers were looked upon as a very uſeful ſuccour.

Of SWEDEN and POLAND.

Vol. V. ch. 158, page 38, &c. HERE is another ſtrange viciſſitude and contraſt in the affairs of the North. Sweden, which was ſo deſpotically governed of late, became the moſt free kingdom in the world, and that in which the king is moſt dependent on his people: while, on the contrary, Denmark, where the king had formerly no more authority than a doge, and where the ſovereign power was veſted in the nobles, and the common people were all ſlaves, has, ſince the year 1661, been the moſt abſolute monarchy upon the earth. The clergy and the burghers choſe rather to ſubmit to an abſolute ſovereign than to an hundred nobles, every one of whom was for having the chief command; and accordingly they obliged the nobles to become ſubjects as well as themſelves, and to inveſt their king, Frederic III. with an unlimited authority. And he was the only monarch in the univerſe who, by the formal conſent of all the orders of the kingdom, was acknowledged as abſolute maſter of the people and the laws, "which he might either make, "annul, or neglect, according to his own will." This formidable power was committed into his hand in a juridical manner, and happily his ſucceſſors have not abuſed it. They have been ſenſible, that their true greatneſs conſiſted in the happineſs of their ſubjects. Sweden and Denmark have cultivated trade by methods diametrically oppoſite to each other; the former by making themſelves free, the latter by giving up their liberties.

Of SABATEI SEVI, the falſe Meſſiah.

Vol. V. ch. 160, page 67. IT is a ſtanding tradition among the Jews, that the Shiloh or Meſſiah, their avenger and king, is not to appear till the coming of Elias; and they are perſuaded that

that they have had one Elias, who is to appear again at the renewing of the world. This Elias has, by ſome learned perſons, been taken for the ſun, on account of the conformity between this name and *Elios*, which in Greek ſignifies the ſun; as alſo from the ſtory of Elias or Elijah being carried up to heaven in a fiery chariot, drawn by four horſes, which has a great reſemblance of the poetical fiction of the chariot of the ſun and his four horſes. But without employing our time in ſuch reſearches, or examining whether the Hebrew books were written after the time of Alexander, when the Jewiſh factors reſiding in Alexandria had learnt ſomething of the Grecian mythology; it is ſufficient to remark, that the Jews have been in expectation of the coming of Elias from time immemorial; and to this very day, when theſe deluded people perform the ceremony of circumciſion on a new-born infant, they always place a chair for Elias, in caſe he ſhould pleaſe to honour them with his preſence. Elias, according to them, is to introduce the great ſabbath, the great Meſſiah, and the general revolution of all things. This notion has been received among Chriſtians. The Elias is to come to declare the diſſolution of this world and a new order of things. Almoſt all the different ſects of fanatics expect an Elias. The prophets of the Cevennes, who came to London in the year 1707, to raiſe the dead, pretended to have ſeen Elias, and to have ſpoken to him; and that he was to ſhew himſelf to the people. In 1724, the magiſtrate of the police ſent two Elias's to priſon, who fought with each other who ſhould be accounted the true one. It was therefore abſolutely neceſſary for Sabatei Sevi to ſet out with declaring himſelf to be the Meſſiah, otherwiſe his pretended miſſion would have been treated as an impoſture.

He met with one Nathan, a Jewiſh rabbin, who thought there was ſomething to be gained by playing a part in this farce. Accordingly Sabatei declaring to the Jews of Aſia Minor and Syria, that this Nathan was Elias, and Nathan on his part inſiſted that Sabatei was the Meſſiah, the Shiloh, expected by the choſen people.

Siege of VIENNA by the TURKS.

Vol. V. ch. 161, page 72. IT has been the cuſtom of all the princes, from Conſtantinople to the further limits of Aſia, always to keep a treaſure by them, as a reſource in times of war, or other neceſſity. They are unacquainted with the method of raiſing money upon extraordinary ſupplies, or by the creation or ſale of offices, government ſecurities, or annuities. The circulation of ſpecie and public credit are things unknown amongſt them, and theſe potentates content themſelves with amaſſing all the gold, ſilver, or jewels, they poſſibly can. This had been the cuſtom in the eaſt ever ſince the time of Cyrus: and Cara Muſtapha, the Turkiſh vizir, thought it was the ſame with the emperors of Germany.

Of CHINA.

Vol. V. ch. 164, at the end. THE emperor Yont-chin, ſucceſſor to Cam-hi, when he drove the European miſſionaries out of his empire, ſpoke to them in the following manner; which they have had the honeſty to relate in their *Letters curious and edifying*.

"What would you ſay if I was to ſend a number of "bonzes and lamas into your country? How would "you receive them? If you have found means to im-"poſe upon my father, do not think I will ſuffer you "to deceive me in the ſame manner. You would have "my Chineſe embrace your religion; now I very well "know, that you will not permit of any worſhip dif-"ferent from your own: what then muſt become of "me and my people? The ſubjects of your princes, "and the diſciples whom you make, acknowledge no "other authority than yours In times of trouble and "diſtraction they are wholy guided by your voices. I "am ſenſible that at preſent we have nothing to fear; "but when your veſſels ſhall find the way hither by "thouſands,

" thouſands, times of trouble and diſtraction may " enſue."

The very Jeſuits, who give us an account of this ſpeech, acknowledge with every other writer, that this emperor was one of the wiſeſt and moſt generous princes that ever filled a throne. His whole ſtudy was to relieve the neceſſities of the poor, by ſetting them to work; to enforce the obſervance of the laws, by ſetting the example himſelf; to check the ambition and intrigues of the bonzes; to maintain peace and plenty throughout his empire; and to cultivate and encourage all the the uſeful arts, eſpecially agriculture. During his reign the public edifices, the high roads, and the canals which form a communication between all the principal rivers of the empire, were ſupported with a magnificence and oeconomy of which there has been no example, but among the ancient Romans.

RECAPITULATION

OF THE

FOREGOING HISTORY.

HAVING gone through the immenſe ſcene of revolutions that have happened in the world, ſince the time of Charlemagne, and even ſome ages before, till that of Lewis XIV. let us now inquire what will be the fruits of our labour, and what advantage we may hope to derive from hiſtory. We have taken a view of actions and manners, let us next conſider, what benefit we may reap from the knowledge of them.

A ſenſible reader will eaſily perceive, that he is to credit ſuch great events only as carry with them an air of probability; and that he ought to look with pity and

contempt on all thoſe fabulous relations, with which fanaticiſm and the ſpirit of fiction and credulity have, in every age, loaded the hiſtory of the world.

Conſtantine triumphs over the emperor Maxentius; but moſt certainly the labarum, with its Greek inſcription, never appeared to him in the clouds.

Clovis, yet reeking with the blood of thoſe whom he had cauſed to be aſſaſſinated, turns Chriſtian, and commits new murders; but no pigeon brought him an ampulla for his baptiſm, nor did an angel deſcend from heaven to preſent him with a ſtandard.

A monk of Clairvaux might preach a cruſade; but a man muſt be more than an idiot, to write or believe that God worked miracles by the hand of this monk, in behalf of this cruſade, which at the ſame time proved ſo unſucceſsful.

Lewis VIII. of France might die of a conſumption; but no one except an ignorant fanatic could ſay, that he might have been cured by the embraces of a young maiden, had he not choſen to die a martyr to his chaſtity.

Hiſtory is in every nation disfigured by fiction, till the time that philoſophy appeared to enlighten mankind; and when ſhe roſe upon this worſe than Egyptian darkneſs, ſhe found the minds of men ſo blinded by many ages of error, that ſhe could with difficulty undeceive them; ſhe found ceremonies, facts, and monuments, eſtabliſhed to conſecrate falſhoods.

How, for inſtance could any philoſopher have been able to perſuade the common people of Rome, aſſembled in the temple of Jupiter Stator, that this Jupiter never came down from heaven to ſtop the flight of the Roman legions? Or, how could he have attempted to deny, in the temple of Caſtor and Pollux, that theſe twin brothers had been ſeen fighting at the head of their armies? Would they not inſtantly have produced to him the ſtone, on which the print of the feet of theſe gods were ſtill to be ſeen? Would not the prieſts of Jupiter and of Pollux have ſaid to him, "Incredulous wretch, you cannot but confeſs, in beholding a roſtral column, that we have gained a naval victory, of which that co-

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lumn is a monument: acknowledge, therefore, that the gods came down to the earth to fight in our behalf; and no longer blaſpheme thoſe miracles, in preſence of the monuments that bear witneſs to them." Such has, in all ages, been the arguments of impoſture and credulity.

A crazy princeſs builds a chapel to the honour of eleven thouſand virgins. The prieſt of this chapel firmly believes, that theſe eleven thouſand virgins never had exiſtence; and yet he ſtirs up the populace to ſtone the philoſopher who diſputes it.

Monuments are to be taken as proofs of facts, only when thoſe facts, probable in themſelves, are tranſmitted to us by cotemporary writers of wiſdom and underſtanding.

The chronicles of the reign of Philip Auguſtus, and the abbey of la Victoire, are proofs of the battle of Bovines. But when you ſee the famous groupe of Laocoon at Rome, are you from that, to believe the fable of the Trojan horſe? Or in viewing the hideous ſtatues of a St. Denis, on the road to Paris, will thoſe monuments of ignorance and credulity convince you, that St. Denis walked about a league with his head under his arm after it was cut off?

Moſt of thoſe monuments that have been erected, any length of time after the action they commemorate, are at beſt but proofs of an error conſecrated by time: nay, we may ſometimes even doubt the truth of medals, that have been ſtruck even at the time of an event; for we have ſeen the Engliſh, deceived by a falſe piece of news, ſtrike a medal, with theſe words on the exergue, *Carthagena taken by admiral Vernon*; and almoſt the next poſt brought them an account of that admiral's having raiſed the ſiege. If a nation, ſo fruitful in wiſe and learned men, could thus run the hazard of impoſing upon poſterity, what are we to think of nations and times buried in the deepeſt ignorance?

We may ſafely credit thoſe events atteſted by public regiſters, by the conſent of cotemporary authors living in a capital, procuring light from each other, and writing under the inſpection of the principal perſons of a

nation. But for all thoſe petty, dubious, and romantic facts, related by obſcure writers, in the corner of ſome ignorant and uncivilized province, and thoſe idle tales, filled with the moſt abſurd and improbable circumſtances, and with pretended miracles, that are the diſgrace of hiſtory, inſtead of being its ornament, let us rank them with the works of Voragines †, father Cauſſin, Maimbourg, and others of their ſtamp.

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It is eaſy to obſerve the great change of manners almoſt throughout the world, from the firſt irruptions of the barbarians to the preſent time. The arts, which ſoften the manners by improving them, began a little to revive in the 12th century; but this dawn, being overcaſt by a cloud of the moſt abſurd and infamous ſuperſtitions, threw every thing back into its priſtine darkneſs; and theſe ſuperſtitions, having ſpread among the ignorant and brutal people of Europe, formed every where a mixture of barbariſm and folly.

The Arabians civilized and improved Aſia, Africa, and a part of Spain, till they were ſubdued by the Turks, and finally driven out by the Spaniards. Then ignorance took poſſeſſion of theſe beautiful regions, and the manners of mankind became gloomy, fierce, and barbarous, throughout one half of our hemiſphere.

The popes were, for ſeveral centuries, elected only by force of arms; and the people, and even their ſovereigns, were ſo weak, that an anti-pope of their own making, was from the inſtant of his creation, revered by them as the vicar of God, and infallible If this infallible perſonage happened to be depoſed, he loſt his holineſs with his dignity, and his ſucceſſor inherited the tribute of their adoration. And theſe earthly deities, who were in their turns either murderers or murdered, poiſoners or poiſoned; who enriched their baſtards with the ſpoils of ſtates, while they condemned fornication; who fulminated their anathemas againſt tournaments, while they themſelves were carrying on wars with excommunicated and depoſed kings, and

† The author of the Golden Legend.

made

made the deluded people purchaſe the remiſſion of their ſins, were at once the ſcandal, the abhorrence, and the gods of the greateſt part of Chriſtendom.

You have ſeen how, in the twelfth and thirteenth centuries, the monks and biſhops raiſed themſelves to the ſovereign power and dignity, and were every where the heads of the feudal government. Here they eſtabliſhed the moſt ridiculous cuſtoms, as groſs as their own manners; ſuch as the excluſive right of entering the church with a falcon on their hand; the right of employing huſbandmen to beat their ponds, that a baron, a monk, or a biſhop might not be diſturbed by the croaking of the frogs; the right of paſſing the firſt night with the new-married wives of their vaſſals, and the right of levying fines upon all traders being aliens; for at that time there were no traders in their own country.

You have alſo ſeen theſe ſallies of ignorance and folly, blended with the more bloody and fatal ones of religious wars.

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Several princes, in endeavouring to releaſe the vaſſals from the tyranny of their lords, attempted to bring the lords under the ſame kind of ſervitude; this was the occaſion of ſo many civil wars.

Were we to credit ſeveral writers, who adapt every thing to their own ideas, we ſhould be led to imagine, that republican ſtates were more virtuous and happy than the monarchical; but, without reckoning the bloody wars that were ſo long carried on between the Genoeſe and the Venetians, about the right of trading with the Mahometan nations, what troubles did not the republics of Venice, Genoa, Florence, and Piſa experience? and how often did the three latter change maſters? If Venice preſerved her liberty, ſhe is indebted for that happineſs wholly to her impaſſable marſhes, called the Lagunes.

It may be aſked, how, in the midſt of ſo many tumults, inteſtine wars, conſpiracies, crimes, and follies, there ſhould have been ſo many perſons who cultivated the uſeful and liberal arts in Italy, and afterwards in the

other ſtates of Chriſtendom? The anſwer is, that we have never been under the Turkiſh yoke.

There muſt certainly have been ſomething in the manners and genius of the people of this part of Europe, which is not to be found either in Thrace, where the Turks have fixed the ſeat of their empire, nor in Tartary, from whence they originally came. There are three things that conſtantly influence the minds of men, climate, government, and religion. This is the only poſſible method of explaining this ænigma in worldly affairs.

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The author of *The ſpirit of Laws* † ſays, that there are no republican ſtates in Aſia; whereas an hundred different hords of Tartars, and tribes of Arabian freebooters, form ſo many different wandering republics. Beſides, there were formerly in Aſia, ſeveral very flouriſhing republics, even ſuperior to thoſe of Greece; witneſs Tyre and Sidon: but we have ſeen none ſuch ſince their decline. That great empires of that part of the world have alſo been ſwallowed up, as this ſame author thinks, is manifeſt from the prodigious plains found there at preſent. He pretends that a mountainous country is the moſt proper aſylum of liberty: but certainly Aſia is to the full as mountainous as Europe. Poland, which is a republic, is a champaign country. Venice and Holland cannot be ſaid to abound in mountains. Switzerland, which is a free country, is indeed ſituated in a part of the Alps; but its neighbours, that inhabit the other part, have ever been in a ſtate of ſlavery. It is certainly a refinement in reaſoning, to inquire into the phyſical cauſes of governments; but then we ſhould not ſeek for cauſes that never had exiſtence.

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Altho' it has in former times been a cuſtom, with almoſt all nations, to ſacrifice human victims; yet this cuſtom is far from having been frequent. This effect of barbarous ignorance, aboliſhed in the old world, ſtill continued to ſubſiſt in the new. But this deteſtable

† Monteſquieu.

ceremony

ceremony is not to be conſidered in the light of a religious precept, that influenced ſociety; for though the Mexicans ſacrificed their priſoners, before the altars of their gods, and the Romans ſtrangled theirs, after having dragged them in triumph, at their chariot wheels, to the capitol, this was no more than one of the conſequences of war, which prevailed equally with both nations, and which, when joined to a religious motive, became one of the moſt dreadful ſcourges of humanity. All I contend for, is, that there never was an inſtance of any religious ſociety or rite being inſtituted, with a view to encourage men to the commiſſion of vice. Religion has, indeed, been made a cloak for wickedneſs in all parts of the world; but it is every where inſtitued to promote virtue and goodneſs: and though ſuperſtition may have introduced fanaticiſm and wars, morality teaches univerſal peace and concord.

From this picture of Europe, from the reign of Charlemagne to the preſent time, you will eaſily judge, that this part of the world is, without compariſon, better peopled, more civilized, more wealthy, and more enlightened, than it was in his days; and that it is even ſuperior, to what any other part of the Roman empire was, Italy excepted.

It is a notion worthy only of the facetious author of the Perſian Tales, or of the new-fangled paradoxes which we meet with in other writers no leſs frivolous, though delivered with an air of more gravity, to pretend, that Europe is leſs populous than in the time of the ancient Romans.

It we conſider the number of ſuperb cities from Peterſburgh to Madrid, that have been built in places that were deſerts ſix centuries ago; or the immenſe tracts of woods which covered the earth, from the borders of the Danube to the Baltic ſea, and even to the heart of France, it will clearly appear, that ſuch an extent of land could not have been cleared, without a great number of hands. And, let others ſay what they will, agriculture and commerce have been infinitely more encouraged, ſince the time of the Romans, than they were either then or before.

One reaſon, which has in general contributed to keeping up the population of Europe, is, that in the numberleſs wars, which its ſeveral provinces have experienced, the conquered people have never been carried away out of their own country by the victors.

Charlemagne did indeed depopulate the banks of the Weſer; but this ſmall ſpot was ſoon recruited again with inhabitants. The Turks carried away ſeveral Hungarian and Dalmatian families, out of their own country, and accordingly we find thoſe countries, at preſent, but thinly peopled. Poland is alſo badly inhabited, but that is owing to the common people being ſtill held in a ſtate of ſlavery.

In what a flouriſhing condition then, would Europe have been at this time, had it not been for the continual wars, by which it has been rent on the ſlighteſt pretexts, and very often through mere whim and caprice? To what a degree of perfection would agriculture have attained, and how much more comfort and aſſiſtance would thoſe arts, which prepare the produce of the earth for our uſe, have afforded us, had not ſuch an aſtoniſhing number of perſons, of both ſexes, been doomed to paſs their lives in uſeleſs retirement, within the walls of a cloiſter! An improvement in humanity, which has been introduced amidſt the ſcourges of war, and thus ſoftened its horrors, has at the ſame time not a little contributed to ſave the common people from that deſtruction with which they were almoſt continually threatened. The great number of military forces, which are continually maintained by all crowned heads, is doubtleſs a very great evil in ſociety; but, at the ſame time, as I have before obſerved, this very evil is productive of a good. The common people now leave the trade of war to their maſters, without intermeddling therewith themſelves; the inhabitants of a beſieged town paſs frequently from the ſervice of one power to that of another, without a ſingle life being loſt on the occaſion; and quietly become the property of him who has the ſtrongeſt army, the beſt artillery, and the moſt money.

Germany, France, and England, were for a long time laid waſte by civil wars; but theſe diſaſters were ſoon repaired,

repaired, and the preſent flouriſhing ſtate of theſe countries ſhews, that the induſtry of mankind has even far exceeded their rage and fury. It is not the ſame with Perſia, for that country has, for upwards of forty years, been a prey to the moſt ſhocking devaſtations; but if happily ſhe ſhould be gathered together, under the rule of a wiſe and good prince, ſhe may recover herſelf in far leſs time than has been taken in ruining her.

When a nation has an acquaintance with the arts, and its inhabitants are not abſolutely enſlaved, or carried away by a foreign conqueror, that nation will eaſily riſe from her ruins, and recover her former ſtrength.

INTRODUCTION

TO THE

AGE OF LEWIS XIV.

In ſpeaking of the four AGES or CENTURIES, of which the laſt is that of LEWIS XIV.

Vol. V. ch. 165. WE muſt not ſuppoſe, that theſe four enlightened ages were exempt from misfortunes or crimes. Though the arts may be cultivated in their greateſt perfection by the peaceable citizens, this does not hinder princes from being ambitious, the common people from being ſeditious, nor the prieſts and monks from being ſometimes incendiaries and impoſtors. All ages reſemble each other, in having given birth to bad men; but I know only of theſe four that are diſtinguiſhed by the ſhining geniuſes they produced.

ROME

ROME.

On the BISHOPS ſtiling themſelves ſuch, by the divine permiſſion, and that of the holy ſee.

Vol. V. ch. 166. SEVERAL of the French biſhops, in the year 1682, laid aſide this form, which was altogether unknown to the firſt ages of chriſtianity; and very lately, namely in 1754, a biſhop had the noble reſolution to omit it entirely in a mandate, which was to be handed down to poſterity; and is the only one that expreſsly aſſerts, what no ſupreme pontiff ever yet ventured to declare; namely, that all men, even infidels, are our brethren.

The pope has retained, in every Roman catholic ſtate, certain prerogatives, which he undoubtedly would not obtain, had not time put him in poſſeſſion of them.

CIVIL WARS.

The End of the SECOND.

Vol. V. ch. 168, 169. page 147, 157. IT is highly probable, that cardinal Mazarine had long been appointed prime miniſter in the mind of the queen, and even during the life of Lewis XIII.

THIRD CIVIL WAR.

IT was found neceſſary to levy taxes, in order to maintain the war with Spain and the emperor. The finances in France had, ever ſince the death of the great Henry IV. been as badly managed as in Spain and Germany. The adminiſtration was a perfect chaos, and ignorance and rapine lorded it over the land: the latter of theſe was not, indeed, ſo extenſive, nor had it ſuch conſiderable objects as at preſent. The government was not the eighth part ſo much in debt as it now is; it

it had not armies of 200,000 men to keep in pay; it had not immenſe ſubſidies to anſwer, nor a war by ſea to ſupport. The revenues of the government amounted in the firſt years of the regency, to near ſeventy-five millions of livres of thoſe days. This was ſufficient to have anſwered all calls, if there had been any oeconomy in the miniſtry; but in 1646, and the following year, they were in want of new ſupplies. The ſuperintendant of the finances * at that time was Emeric †, a peaſant of Sienna, who had a ſoul more mean than his birth, and who, by his inſolence and licentiouſneſs, irritated the whole nation againſt him. This man invented ſchemes for raiſing money, equally ridiculous and burthenſome. He created places of comptrollers of fire-wood, ſworn ſellers of hay, wine-carriers of the king's council, and made a public ſale of letters of nobility. The annuities on the town-houſe of Paris did not then amount to more than eleven millions; the annuitants were obliged to give up ſeveral quarters; additional duties were laid on all imports, and ſeveral new places of maſters of requeſts created; and beſides all this, about 80,000 crowns were kept back out of the ſalaries of the magiſtrates.

It may eaſily be imagined, that the minds of the people were greatly irritated againſt two Italians, who had come into France without any fortune, had enriched themſelves at the expence of the nation, and who, by their conduct, had rendered themſelves ſo juſtly obnoxious. The parliament of Paris, the maſters of the requeſts, all the other courts, and annuitants, joined together to oppoſe them. Mazarine took away the poſt of ſuper-intendant from his confidant Emeric, and baniſhed him to one of his eſtates, at a diſtance from Paris; but this ſacrifice came too late, every one loudly complained, that ſuch a man ſhould have any eſtates in France, and Mazarine himſelf was univerſally deteſted, tho', at that very time, he had put the finiſhing hand to the peace of Munſter. For we muſt obſerve, that

* The ſame as chancellor of the exchequer in England.
† His real name was Michael Particelli.

this

this famous treaty, and the barricades, happened in the ſame year 1648.

The civil wars in Paris began, like thoſe in London, about a trifling ſum of money †.

Of the DUKE of BEAUFORT.

THE ducheſs of Nemours, in her Memoirs, tells us, that the prince of Condé preſented a little crook-backed dwarf, armed cap-a-peé to the queen, ſaying, "Behold the generaliſſimo of the Pariſian forces." Theſe words were deſigned as a reflection upon his brother, the prince of Conti, who was deformed, and whom the Pariſians had choſen to head them. Nevrtheleſs, Condé himſelf was afterwards general of the ſame troops: and madame de Nemours adds, that ſhe has often heard him declare, that this whole war deſerved to be written only in doggrel verſe.

CONDITION of FRANCE, under the Adminiſtration of Cardinal MAZARINE.

On the DEATH of CROMWEL.

Vol. V. ch. 170. page 177 & note. I DO not know whether it is true, that Cromwel played the enthuſiaſt and prophet on his death-bed, by telling his phyſicians, that he was certain that God would work a miracle in his favour. His ſecretary, Thurlo, tells us, that his words were, "Nature can do more than the phyſicians." This was not talking like an enthuſiaſt, but like a man of underſtanding. It might ſo happen, that, from a conviction of the poſſibility of the phyſicians being miſtaken in their judgment, he had a mind, in caſe he ſhould recover, to give the people a higher opinion of his ſanctity, and thereby render his perſon more reſpected, and even ſacred.

† M. de Voltaire, in this place, alludes to the affair of the ſhip-money in England, which was the firſt beginning of the troubles and unfortunate end of Charles I.

MAG-

MAGNIFICENCE OF LEWIS XIV.

On the BULL of DIVORCE, granted by the Pope to the Queen of Portugal, on the ſuppoſed impotence of her huſband.

Vol. V ch. 174. page 213. THAT which pope Clement VII. refuſed to the powerful king of England, Henry VIII. Urban VIII. granted to the wife of a king of Portugal. The moſt trifling intrigue will frequently bring about that, at one time, which the moſt powerful exertions cannot obtain at another. There were always two weights and two meaſures, for the privileges of all kings and their ſubjects: theſe two meaſures have been kept in the Vatican, ever ſince the popes came to have influence in Europe. It would be impoſſible to conceive, how ſo many nations ſhould, for ſuch a length of time, have left their authority in the hands of the Roman pontiff, were we not well apprized of the great force of cuſtom.

END of the CHAPTER, which concludes with the DEATH of CONDE.

Vol. V. ch. 175. page 241. IT is a current ſtory, but ſuch as merits our contempt, that Montecuculli reſigned the command of the army after the death of Turenne; alledging, that he had no longer any rival worthy to contend with. This would have been a very fooliſh aſſertion, even if the great Condé had not been living. But, ſo far from expreſſing himſelf in this ridiculous manner, which has been as ridiculouſly imputed to him as an honour, he actually fought againſt the French, and compelled them to repaſs the Rhine, that very ſame year. Beſides, what general who had the command of an army, would ſay to his maſter? "I will ſerve you no longer, becauſe "your enemies are too weak, and I have too great a "ſuperiority of merit."

Of

Of COLBERT and FOUQUET.

Vol. VI. ch. 197. IT was the league, and the war of Paris, that firſt ſet a price upon places in the courts of judicature; and as it was one of the greateſt faults and misfortunes of a government, for a long time overwhelmed with debt, that France ſhould be the only nation in the world where the office of a judge is venal; ſo, on the other hand, it is the conſequence of the old leaven of ſedition, and a kind of inſult upon the crown, that the place of king's attorney ſhould coſt more than the firſt dignities of the ſtate.

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We ſhould never be the dupes of thoſe premeditated anſwers, or public ſpeeches, which the heart frequently diſavows. Colbert was outwardly a man of moderation; but it is inconteſtible, that he laboured with the moſt cruel aſſiduity to take Fouquet's life. The ſame perſon may be a good miniſter, and one of a vindictive ſpirit. It is to be regretted, that he was not as generous as he was vigilant.

But the moſt implacable of his (Fouquet's) perſecutors, was the perſon appointed for his judge, Michael le Tellier the chancellor; who behaved to him with the greateſt cruelty, when he went to examine him in the Baſtile, and who did all in his power to get him capitally condemned. Therefore, when we read the funeral oration of this chancellor, ſpoken by Boſſuet, and compare it with his conduct, what can we think, except that a funeral oration is no other than a common harangue?

On St. EVREMONT.

WHEN Lewis XIV. ſent him leave to return back to his own country, at the latter end of his life, the philoſopher ſcorned to accept this permiſſion as a favour, and by his example ſhewed, that every man's country

country is that in which he can live the happieſt: his was England.

LEWIS XIV. GOVERNMENT.

Vol. VII. chap. 201. DON Uſtaris, a ſtateſman, who has written on the trade and revenue of Spain, calls Lewis XIV. *a prodigy of a man.*

LEWIS XIV. FINANCES.

Vol. VII. chap. ccii. to the end. IT is a known anecdote, that the king having propoſed to place Pelletier at the head of the exchequer, after the death of Colbert, Le Tellier told his majeſty, "that he "was not a proper perſon for that office." "And why "ſo?" demanded the king. "Becauſe, Sir," anſwered le Tellier, "his diſpoſition is not harſh enough." "But do you know," replied the king, "that I want "not to have my people treated harſhly." This new miniſter was indeed a good and a juſt man; but when in 1688, France was again involved in a war, and had to defend itſelf againſt the effort of the league of Augſbourg; that is to ſay, againſt the joint forces of almoſt all Europe: he found himſelf loaded with a burthen that would have proved too heavy, even for the ſhoulders of Colbert. In this exigence, the eaſy and unhappy expedient of borrowing upon annuities, was the firſt he had recourſe to. He afterwards attemped to lay a reſtriction upon luxury; which, in a kingdom abounding in manufactures, is putting a check to induſtry, and the circulation of money; and this is never to be done, but in a nation which pays foreigners for the articles of luxury

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At this time alſo, we meet with one of thoſe unpardonable faults, in an adminiſtration, which have been corrected but of late years; I mean the debaſing the current coin, and by an unequal valuation, making the crowns of leſs intrinſic value than the quarts; by which

which means all the latter were bought up, and carried into foreign countries, where they were melted down again, and caſt into crowns, and afterwards returned back to France, to the great loſs of that kingdom, and the gain of others. A country muſt be very ſtrong in itſelf, to ſtand the force of ſuch repeated ſhocks, and yet preſerve its credit: but the miniſtry were at that time ignorant. The finances were then like the metaphyſics, a mere conjectural ſcience; and the contractors were a ſet of impudent impoſtors, who cheated the miniſtry. The government ſuſtained a loſs of eighty millions, by this management; a loſs which requires above twenty years to repair.

They were continually obliged to have recourſe to to extraordinaries, as they are called. They created ridiculous poſts, which are always eagerly purchaſed, by thoſe who are deſirous to be exempted from the taille, a tax which carries with it a mark of debaſement in France; and as men are by nature inclined to be vain, they are almoſt always the dupes of any ſcheme that excuſe them from this; moreover, the conſiderable ſalaries, annexed to theſe places, are another allurement to thoſe to become purchaſers in times of neceſſity, who do not reflect, that theſe places will be ſuppreſſed, as ſoon as matters are upon a better footing. Thus, in 1707, the miniſtry invented the dignity of king's counſellors, brokers, and dealers in wine, which brought in 180,000 livres. They likewiſe created the imaginary offices of king's regiſters, and ſubdelegates, to the intendants of provinces; king's counſellors, comptrollers of fire-wood, counſellors of the police, barber-peruke-makers, comptroller viſitants of freſh-butter, and taſters of ſalt-butter. Theſe extravagancies make people ſmile now-a-days, but drew tears from all eyes in thoſe times.

OF CALVINISM.

Vol. VII. chap. ccvii. page 78.

IN the war of 1701, rebellion and fanaticiſm broke out in Languedoc, and the neighbouring parts.

This

This rebellion was excited by the ſpirit of prophecy. Predictions have at all times been the means made uſe of to miſlead ſimple people, and inflame the minds of bigots. If one only, out of an hundred events, foretold by a daring impoſtor, comes to paſs, thro' mere hazard, the reſt that fail are buried in oblivion; and this is looked upon as a certain teſtimony of the favour of heaven, and the proof of a prodigy. If a prediction does not come to paſs literally, it is explained away; it has a new ſenſe given to it, which fanatics adopt and fools believe.

Jurieu, a calviniſt miniſter, was a moſt violent prophet. He began by ſetting himſelf above one Cotterus, a certain Chriſtina, a Juſtus Velſius and a Drabitius, whom he pretended to be perſons inſpired by God. He then put himſelf almoſt upon a level with the author of the revelations, and St. Paul. His followers cauſed a medal to be ſtruck in Holland, with this inſcription on the exergue, Jurius Propheta. He foretold the deliverance of the people for above eight years. He eſtabliſhed his ſchools for prophecy in the mountains of Dauphiny, and of the Vivarais, and Cevennes; countries perfectly well adapted to ſuch purpoſes: where the inhabitants are ignorant by nature, and have their imaginations heated by the warmth of the climate, and the enthuſiaſtic diſcourſes of their preachers.

The firſt of theſe ſchools was ſet up in a glaſs-houſe, on a mountain in Dauphiny, called *Peira*.

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Id. page 80.] Brouſſon had laid a plan, for introducing the Engliſh and Savoyard forces into Languedoc. This plan, written with his own hand, and addreſſed to the duke of Schomberg, had been intercepted for a conſiderable time, and was in the cuſtody of the intendant of the province. Brouſſon, as he was wandering from town to town, was ſeized at length at Oleron, and carried to the citadel of Montpellier, where he was kept cloſe confined. He was examined, while in priſon, by the intendant, and judge of the province, to whom he declared, that he was an apoſtle of Jeſus Chriſt, and had received

received the gift of the Holy Ghoſt; that therefore he dared not to betray the faith committed to his charge, but was in duty bound to diſtribute the bread of the word to all his brethren. They aſked, if the apoſtles had wrote plans to ſtir up a province to rebellion? and, thereupon produced to him a paper written with his own hand. After this, he was unanimouſly condemned to be broke upon the wheel. He died after the manner of the firſt martyrs. All thoſe of his own ſect, and even all foreigners, far from conſidering him as a criminal of ſtate, ſaw in him only a ſaint, who had ſealed the faith with his blood; and books were publiſhed with the title of the martyrdom of Mr. de Brouſon.

Of JANSENISM, at the end of the Chapter.

Vol. VII. chap. ccviii. page 104. RELIGION may yet ſharpen the poniards of fanaticiſm. There is always in a nation a certain ſet of people, who hold no commerce with perſons of honour and reputation who are not of this age, nor are to be affected by the progreſs of reaſon in the human mind, and in whoſe ſouls fanaticiſm ſtill exerciſes its baleful influence, like certain diſtempers, which are found only among the loweſt of the people.

OF QUIETISM.

Vol. VII. chap. ccix. LACOMBE, madame Guion's director, carried her with him to his little birth-place of Anneci, in Savoy. Even this was a very indecent ſtep in a clergyman, to carry a young and handſome woman away out of her own country; but it has almoſt always been the cuſtom of thoſe, who are deſirous to eſtabliſh a ſect, to carry women with them.

On

On the Canonization of MARY D'AGREDA.

Id. IT is difficult to ſay, which ſide acted with the the greateſt abſurdity and folly; but it was certainly highly ridiculous to give that kind of weight to ſuch extravagancies, which they continue to preſerve in ſome meaſure to this day.

On the charge of HERESY againſt FENELON.

Id. THIS enthuſiaſtic behaviour of Boſſuet, was, by the numerous friends of Fenelon, thought to be far from ſincere. The courtiers pretended, that it was a mere court-trick. It was, in the main, hardly to be ſuppoſed, that a man of the biſhop of Meaux's party, ſhould really conſider, as a *fatal hereſy* the pious chimera of loving God for his own ſake only. It appears more probable, that, actuated by an averſion to this myſtic devotion, and ſtill more by his private hatred of Fenelon, and confounding the one with the other, he was induced to prefer this charge againſt his old friend and fellow-collegian; imagining, perhaps, that the character of an informer, which ſtamps infamy upon a man of the world, did honour to an eccleſiaſtic; and that a zeal for religion warrants the moſt ungenerous proceedings.

End of the Chapter of QUIETISM.

Id. THESE diſputes, which ſo long engroſſed the attention of France, like many others begot by idleneſs and ignorance, are now wholly buried in oblivion; and we at preſent wonder how they could ever have produced ſo great animoſities. The ſpirit of true philoſophy, which is every day gaining ground, ſeems to inſure the public tranquillity; and even thoſe enthuſiaſts, who ſtill oppoſe philoſophers, are indebted to them for the peace which they at preſent enjoy, and which they labour to deprive themſelves of.

End

End of the Chapter relating to the CHINESE Ceremonies.

Vol. VII. chap. ccix. THE emperor Camhi died in 1724. This prince was a great lover of all the European arts. Some Jeſuits had been ſent to his court, who, by their conſummate knowledge, and the eminent ſervices they did him, gained his affection, and obtained from him, as we have already obſerved, permiſſion to exerciſe and teach the chriſtian religion publicly, throughout his dominions.

His fourth ſon, Yontching, whom he had nominated to the empire, to the excluſion of the elder brothers, ſucceeded him peaceably, without his brothers murmuring, or ſhewing the leaſt ſigns of diſcontent. Filial piety and obedience, which is the fundamental law of that empire, makes it a crime and diſgrace, in perſons of whatſoever condition, to complain of the laſt will, or determination, of a parent.

The new emperor even exceeded his father, in a regard for the laws and welfare of his people. No prince ever gave greater encouragement to agriculture. He carried his attention to this firſt of all the neceſſary arts, ſo far as to beſtow the rank of a mandarin of the eighth order, on ſuch huſbandman in each of the provinces of the empire, who, in the opinions of the magiſtrates of his canton, ſhould be deemed the moſt diligent, induſtrious, and honeſt man in his vocation; but this rank did not take ſuch huſbandman from the exerciſe of his profeſſion, tho' it called him to a ſeat in the courts of judicature; he was ſtill to remain what he was before his elevation to this new dignity, only he bore the title of mandarin, which gave him a right to ſit in the preſence of the viceroy of the province, and to eat at his table. His name was regiſtered in letters of gold, in one of the public halls. It is ſaid, that this regulation, ſo very different from our cuſtoms, and which is in fact a kind of ſatyr upon them, ſtill ſubſiſts.

This prince likewiſe ordered, that no perſon ſhould be put to death in all his extenſive empire, till the proceedings

ceedings againſt him had been laid before the emperor, not once only, but three times ſucceſſively. The two principal motives for this edict, are as reſpectable as the edict itſelf, as they ſhew the great value that ought to be ſet upon the life of every man, and the tenderneſs which a king owes his people.

He cauſed immenſe magazines of rice to be formed in each province, with an œconomy that did not burthen the people, and which effectually provided againſt the accident of a dearth in any future time. All the provinces vied with each other in giving teſtimonies of joy and gratitude, by public ſhows and triumphal arches, which were every where erected to the name of this father of his country. However, Yontching, publiſhed an edict, ordering a ſtop to be put to theſe exhibitions, which were hurtful to the œconomy he had recommended; and poſitively forbad the erecting any more monuments to his honour, expreſſing himſelf thus, in the reſcript he ſent to the Mandarins. "I did "not beſtow favours, ſaid he, from the vain motive of "applauſe; I would have my people happy and bet-"ter; and that they ſhould diſcharge the ſeveral duties "of their ſtation; theſe are the only monuments I "deſire, or will accept."

Such was the character of this emperor; and unhappily this was the prince, who proſcribed the chriſtian religion. The Jeſuits had at that time ſeveral churches, in which they openly performed their worſhip; and even ſome princes of the imperial blood had actually received baptiſm at their hands. Some fatal innovation was apprehended in the ſtate: it was no ſecret, that, at that very time, chriſtianity had excited furious diſorders in Japan, and this made an impreſſion on all minds, that the ſanctity of the religion itſelf, for want of being properly known, could not counterbalance. It was alſo well known, that, at that very time, the diſputes between the chriſtian miſſionaries of the different orders then at Tonquin, had occaſioned the total extirpation of their religion in that province; and as theſe very diſputes were carried to a ſtill greater height in China, almoſt all the tribunals were exaſperated againſt a ſet of peo-

ple; who appeared divided amongſt themſelves, in relation to the moſt eſſential points of the religion they came to preach to others. In ſhort, information was received, that at Canton there were Engliſh, Dutch, Swediſh, and Daniſh ſettlers, who, tho' all calling themſelves chriſtians, were yet of a different religion from the chriſtians of Macao.

Theſe various conſiderations determined the ſupreme tribunal of rites, to forbid the further exerciſe of the chriſtian religion. This edict was publiſhed the 10th of January, 1724, but without any reflection upon, or puniſhment decreed againſt the miſſionaries, or even the leaſt offenſive reproach; nay, the words of the edict invited the emperor to retain ſuch of them about his perſon at Pekin, as he ſhould judge neceſſary for the furtherance of mathematical knowledge. The emperor confirmed this edict, and iſſued an order at the ſame time, that the miſſionaries ſhould be ſent back to Macao, under the care of a mandarin, who was to protect them from all inſults by the way; theſe are the expreſs words of the emperor's ordinance.

He kept ſome few of them about him, and among the reſt the Jeſuit Parennin, whoſe character I have already given, and who was equally famous for his great erudition, and the wiſe and prudent manner in which he conducted himſelf. This man ſpoke the Chineſe and Tartarian languages perfectly well, and was indeed a very neceſſary perſon, not only as an interpreter, but as a mathematician alſo. He is the beſt known to us of any of the miſſionaries of that time, by the wiſe and inſtructive anſwers he has given to the learned objections, ſtarted by one of our beſt philoſophers, in relation to the ſciences of the Chineſe. This prieſt was in high favour with the emperor Camhi, and held in no leſs degree of eſteem by his ſon and ſucceſſor Yontching. If any one could have warded off this blow upon chriſtianity, it would have been him. He, with two other Jeſuits, his brethren in the miſſion, obtained an audience of the emperor's brother, who was appointed to examine the edict, and make a report to the emperor. Parennin, with great candour, relates the anſwer this

prince

prince gave to them, who was their patron and protector: "Your affairs, says he, give me a great deal "of trouble and uneasiness: I have read the accusations "brought against you: your continual quarrels with "the other Europeans, in relation to the rites and cere-"monies of the Chinese worship, have done you irre-"parable prejudice. What would you say, or how "would you act, if we were to come over to Europe, "and behave as you have done here? Answer me in-"genuously; would you suffer it?" They had no answer to make to this. Nevertheless, they prevailed on the prince to speak to the emperor in their favour; and being afterwards admitted to speak to the emperor in person, he declared, that he was resolved to send away every one who called himself a missionary.

We have already related these words of the emperor, "You have deceived my father, think not to deceive "me likewise."

Notwithstanding the prudent orders issued by the emperor, some Jesuits were indiscreet enough to return again clandestinely into some of the provinces, in the reign of the successor of this Yontching, who condemned them to die, as open violators of the laws of the empire, as we in France put to death such Huguenot preachers, who, in disobedience to the order of the king, come to gather congregations, or assemble the people of a province or country. This itch of making proselytes is a malady endemial to our climates, as I have already remarked, and has been always unknown to those of Upper Asia. These people never sent missionaries into Europe; we are the only people in the world who are desirous of carrying our religion, like our trade, to all parts of the globe.

The Jesuits were even the cause of the deaths of several of the Chinese, in particular of two princes of the blood, who were suspected of favouring them too much. What a misfortune! to come from the extremity of the earth to sow discord in an Imperial family, and be the cause of two princes falling by the hands of executioners! These men, to render their mission respectable in Europe, pretended, that God declared in their

favour, by cauſing four croſſes to appear in the ſky over China, and have given us the figure of theſe croſſes, in a copper-plate, in their *curious and edifying letters*; but if God had been willing that the Chineſe ſhould have become Chriſtians, would he have been contented with hanging theſe croſſes in the air? Would he not rather have fixed them in the hearts of the people.

END OF THE THIRTEENTH VOLUME.